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# REVIEW

O F

Mr. PHILLIPS's

### HISTORY

OF THE

### LIFE

O F

## REGINALD POLE.

Etsi enim grave per se est seditionis crimen, quocunque tempore, et cujuscunque operâ existat : tamen alii aliis multo modestius in seditione se gerunt.

Polus, De Unit. Ecclef. Lib. 1.

By GLOCESTER RIDLEY, L.L. B.

### LONDON:

Printed for J. Whiston and B. White, in Fleet-Street; and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. M.DCC.LXVI.



TO THE

# K I N G.

SIR,

THE following Vindication of the Doctrines of the Church of England, and of the Submission of all her Members to their King as Supreme, is humbly offered to your Majesty, as to the Defender of her equally

qualty pure and peaceable Faith.

That your MAJESTY may be long preserved, to recommend the Fruits of that Faith by your Royal Example; and that your Subjects may shew the powerful Influences of it in the Virtue of their Lives, and the Loyalty of their Affections: that they may in particular be zealous to maintain, against all at-tempts of foreign Usurpation, your just Authority, on which their invaluable Liberties, not only Ecclesiastical but Civil, depend; and that your Majesty's whole Reign



( v. )

Reign may be crowned with every Sort of Happiness, national and domestick, is the earnest and daily Prayer of

Your Majesty's

most faithful

and most devoted

Subject and Servant,

Glocester Ridley.

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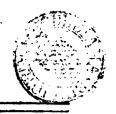


& COURTNEY.

HENRY VIIL

Slain in battle fighting against the King.
Seized the crown after the murder of his predecessor.
Murdered.
Put to death for treason.

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A

### REVIEW

OF THE

### LIFE

O'F

### REGINALD POLE.

R. Phillips has lately published the Life of REGINALD POLE, for the entertainment and instruction of his Countrymen. To excite our curiosity he informs us, that 'the subject is new, not having been attempted by any one before in our language;' yet, that it 'descends to him by a kind of inheritance, having been collected before by his great Uncle, William Joyner, in his short Memoirs,' hear a hundred years ago. He likewise recommends his History to us from the exactness and precision of its Plan, not wandering into digressions on the times and persons, in which and with whom his Hero lived, but confining himself

\* Pref. p. xiii.

strictly to his Subject, which a Biographer should always have in view, and never lose light of it; wet fometimes, to avoid fatiety, he ventures ' to hold 6 his principal Figure off; d and in order to embellish the spot he undertook to cultivate, ' lets in an extensive and delightful neighbourhood, in the instances of exemplary virtue, and its opposite, in high life, and in both Sexes with which that Date abounds, and the revolutions which the fortunes of particular persons underwent in those times.' This, the Author's own account of the novelty of his Subject, and the correctness of his Plan. I leave to the admiration of the Reader. fevere Rules for Biography, which he professes to follow, laid an obligation on him, though not on others, to observe them: but the unreasonableness of those rules, even in his own judgment, is suffciently proved by his deviating from them in almost every page. Indeed if a Biographer write his own life, the importance of a Man to himself may make the truleus of having his subject always in view, wand of never doling fight of it, agreeable enough to the Writer; but then the general unimportance of the fubject is likely to recommend it to but few Readers, land the Author must be content to oirculate it only among his fridads.

However, I shall but little concern myself with his manner of writing; his design, as fan as he is pleased to open it, will deserve more notice. This he tells us, is, to place Cardinal Pole in a true, distinct, and conspicuous light, and shew

P. v, vi. vi. xiv. fibid. v.

his whole conduct to have been one uniform System of the most exalted, and at the same time, the ' most amiable virtues, which can adorn a Man of Lesters, a Patriot, a Christian, and a Prelate.'s This strong impression in his favor, which he himself feels (although he seems aware it may have raised him to a strain, which sobriety of thought cannot approve) he hopes will be able to draw his Readers within the same vortex.'b The Reader will judge for himself how much he is obliged to him for this attempt. He apprehends indeed ' some difficulty in reconciling an English Reader to a history, which, on many accounts, must be a centure of things and perfons, to which he has been used to give his approbation; and a justification of what he has been accustomed to con-' demn :' But these, on the Reader's side, he represents as prejudices (without suspecting any on his own part) and defires us to step two hundred years back, to the manners, religion, and policy of the persons we either approve, or find fault with; and not try a man by the Forest Laws, who lived under those of the Confessor. k But why not step fifteen hundred years back, and try them by the Gospel Laws ? These he will allow to have been enacted before Reginald was born, or the Council of Trent called. Let us judge of the beauty and proportion of the Cardinal, by that stature and fulness which is the measure of a Christian, rather than by the shadow, which the placing of the lights, by the Gentleman who shews him, occasions him to cast. Whis is 'an impartial universal standard' which :B 2

s P.v. h vi. i vii. k vii. 1 viii.

Mr. Phillips indeed talks of, but tells us not where it is to be found. And had not this Writer miftaken the comparatively modern decrees of the Roman Church for that Standard, he would have feen no reason for preparing so superb a base to render more conspicuous this ungrateful traytor to his King, and this seditious enemy to his Country.

The Biographer's general defign is to recommend the Popish Doctrines; as the best mean to recommend them, he endeavours to establish the Pope's Supremacy; and the method he uses to excite his Readers to attempt the recovery of this Supremacy to the Pope, is the example of Reginald Pole: Against this general design, I shall, as occasions offer, shew, that the doctrines he would recommend are unscriptural; the mean to establish them is seditious and treasonable; and the history framed to excite his Readers is salfe or misrepresented.

It may not only be of use to the Readers of that Work, to be put upon their guard; but even to Mr. Phillips, in giving him back the image of Himself, by pointing out some of his mistakes: if they were mere mistakes, owing to the heat of prepossession, a view of them may serve to bring him down from those heights which sobriety of thought cannot approve; if they are wilful misrepresentations, and his cooler thoughts approve the malice, I hope, at least, it will keep his Readers from being drawn into the same

vortex.

Characters, like pictures, often appear different from the Situation of the spectators; so it has happened with respect to Resinald Pole: for, besides

the prejudices of Papifts and Protestants, his life was so cast betwixt England and Italy, that neither his countrymen nor foreigners faw the whole of him: His birth, parentage, ancestors, obligations, views and connections in England impress a form upon his conduct, of which the Italians, as strangers, were incompetent judges; his qualities and accomplishments, which in great measure he acquired in Italy, and chiefly displayed there, were less seen in England, where he chose not to exert them. The Italians therefore are apt to dwell with rapture on these; which the English deny not to have been shining, but were too distant from their observation to make equally strong impressions: while they look with horror on the former, as exhibiting the strongest features of ingratitude, refentment, and treason; which the Italians, although they see them, yet, the distance softening them to their eyes, are wont to That milder merit of the extenuate or overlook. beart, \* which distinguished him among his favorites at Padua, is lost to us amidst that most illiberal abuse. with which he foams against his King and Bencfactor: the appearances of humanity and difinterestedness, which he put on at Rome, drop off when we look at him travelling from Court to Court, to rouse up the Princes of Europe to invade his Country, to spirit up civil wars in the bowels of it; and during his short administration here, bathing his hands in the blood of his Countrymen. Yet all this can bigotry and superstition consecrate into Virtue, nay into Patriotifm, nay into a tender love for that very King, and as the kall equivocal pledge of his loyalty and affection.

В 3

Be

Pref. p. xii.

b Hift. p. 67.

Be it, that he was naturally of a mild and humane disposition: what was able to drive him fo violently from his natural bent? Mr. Phillips reprefents it as proceding from his zeal for religion, his affection to his King, and his love of his Country. These will offer themselves to examination in the course of this review. At present it must appear a paradox, to urge a zeal for religion as the defence of rebellion; an affection for his King as the cause of attempting to depose him; and invasions, civil wars, and cruel executions, as the proofs of his lovefor his Country. A review of his life, as related by Mr. Phillips himself, may perhaps discover a cause more adæquate, and less æquivocal, powerful enough to change his gratural bent, and which is supported fufficiently by history.

By birth Reginald Pole was nearly related to the King, not only by the Father's fide, as Beccatelli and Dudithius relate, deriving them both from the old Britans who retired into Wales: but also on the Mother's fide, on which Mr. Phillips principally infifts. and has drawn out his Pedigree in a Table that he has inferted. I have, in imitation of him, given one, in which we shall find almost all the family, falling in battle, or executed on a scassfold, in contentions for the crown. His Great grandfather, Richard Duke of York. Heir of the House of York, and that of Clair rence too, died in battle fighting against his King, Henry VI, to wrest the crown from him: that Duke's Father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, died at the same time, in the same cause: his eldest Son deposed Henry VI. murdered the Prince his Son, and feized the Throne as Heir of the House of Clarence, by the Title of Edward IV: his second Son, the Duke of .Clarence.

Clarence, Grandfather to Reginald, was drowned in a butt of Malmfey, for conspiring against the King his Brother: the Duke of Clarence's Father-in-law. the Earl of Warwick, Son to the above-mentioned Earl of Salishury, died, with his Brother, fighting against his King: the third Son of the Duke of York, usurped the Crown by the Title of Richard III; and, to come at it, murdered his royal Nephews Edward V. and his Brother the Duke of York: King Richard's Sifter was Mother to the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Suffolk, and Richard De la Pole; all of which pretended to the Crown, the first fell in battle in the reign of Henry VII. the other died by the axe under Henry VIII. and the last was enticed by Lewis XIL of France, to fet up his claim against the same King: The only Children of the Duke of Clarence, were the Earl of Warwick, Uncle to Reginald, and the Countess of Salisbury his Mother; the first was imprisoned as Heir of the House of York, by his Uncle Richard III. and beheaded in prison by Henry VII. for confederating with an impostor against the King: so there only remained the Countels of Salifbury and her children, of whom Reginald was the youngest Son, Was it impossible, or unlikely, that fome feeds of ambition, which shot up so plentifully in all the other branches of the House of York, should pass into the constitution of one descended from suchan aspiring race? and that the tainted blood of so many Rebels should carry with it into Reginald's veins an hereditary corruption? In fact, did not his elder Brother, the Lord Montague; his Coufin Courtney, Marquis of Exeter; and Lord Montague's Brother-in-law, Sir Edward Nevil, lose their heads, for contriving to advance the Cardinal to the crown, on B . . the who was concerned in the complicacy and discovered in the complicacy and discovered in the complicacy and discovered in the Andrews and discovered in the famous solutions. Mother, the Countries of Saliffuly fuffer as an accomplice in the same treasion? with this clue in our hands, let us attend to the evolution of Reginald's character, as drawn forth by the feries in frovents located and and the

The Queen Cutherine of Aragon, concerned at the death of the Earle of Warniet, Pole's Uncle, whose execution had been smale the condition of her marriage, by her Father, Fordinand, Kingi of Spain, was accustomed to says sher mind would herer he s at case unless the crown reverted again to the Earl of Warwick's family by a marriage of one of his Sifter's Sont to her Daughter, and thus some repastation were made afor the injustice done to the 6 Brother suand among sall, that Eady's numerous 6 offspring. The had over the wed a predilection to Rein sinald Sin Refinald; slithough fixteen years older than the Reincels, iwas the youngest of those Sons, and therefore more likely than either of his elder Brothered to be chosen for her Husband. And (perhaps to further this defign) the care of the young Princess's education was, by the Queen; committed to the Countels of Salifbury, Pole's Mother. During her infancy Pale went abroad to qualify himself for fuch employments, as the King's particular regard for him, might lead him to expect: which regard the King had manifested by loading him with spiritual revenues, although not yet in Orders, to the amount: of 10001. and a pension of 5001. per annum, payable out of the Treasury; which, according to Mr.

:.!

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Reg. Pole, vol. 1. p. 34.

Min. Phillips's calculation; rimould be betwint seven tand eighththousand spanneds as year account money. The King's extractedinary kindness, and the Queen's sviews in his favor made him encortain suggest honor and eftern for each me, some a new control of the action and of the grant seven as a contracted of the control of the control

In the pursuit of his Studies he ... h. 2. His made choice of Padus; preferring it Travels, in to the Serbonnes during his residence thiere, the Princess was affianced to the Emperour: bur on the 2d. of January, 1526, the Emperour, phretondidg: the displeasure of his Circus, or Parliaimental because the Princess was born of an incestucous marriage, violated his bath to her, and married Ifqbellarof: Perbugal. Nowasds the close of this year Arginald returns home, and finds that feruples were antertained of the legitimacy of the Princels, being the iffue, as it was: laid, of an inceftuous marriage the King himself appearing strongly affected with these servoles. Fond of his studies, Pole, within returns, chose for the place of his residence, the morraftery of Carabifians at Shetes; where he had recaived his first education; it was also in the neighbourhood of Richmond, where the Court often was; and also of Sion; where were some Religious of the Order of St. Bridget . Augustin Webster, a professed of the Carthufuns House at Shine, though now a Pris or elsewhere, was his old acqualitance; a great ene iny to the Divorce, and all the King's confequent procedings, for which he luffered about eight years after: and,"among the Religious at Shehe, was one Reynolds, 'an intimate of Riginald's, who also fuffered ...... in

e P. 166. ( ) and 1 3 Tile st. 1

in the same cause with Webster. Here he speat two years agreeably: but it was a School not likely to reconcile him to such measures, as tended to deprive Catherine of her Royalty, and Mary of her inheritance: measures to which he was himself sufficiently disinclined from his own private affections and interests.

But not to deprive Raginald of any honors, the Reader shall have the account of this retreat with all the pomp, in which his Biographer has dreft it.

'Hitherto, (at his return to England) his charcracter had been only approved by the innocence of

ractel use their outh abbitored shelfthated denine:

hut a feens was now opening, and fuch a part af-

s figured him, as required all the firmness and gene-

relity of a foul superior to hope and fear, and every

5 tender feeling of nature. . This was the King's

divorce from the Queen, which, with respect to

Reginald Pole, was one of those trials, to which fromly the greatest men are exposed, and to which

f they alone are equal, d

But, except as above suggested, I see not how the affair had any relation to him. And what was his behaviour on this occasion? His studies, says.Mr.

Phillips, having been of that kind, which form

a polite Scholar, not a Divine; his years also might appear not sufficiently ripe for such a discussion

on: and the cause being now before the Bishop of

Rome, its proper judge, he was so far from any obli-

6 gation of forestalling the sentence, that silence was

both more prudent and respectful.'s

. How did this opening of the scene require that

firmness and generosity of a Soul superior to hope and

\* and fear, and every tender feeling of nature? Did the Divorce, in which he was not concerned, a sheological and law question which he did not under-Rand, and on which it did not become him to declare his opinion (the cause being before its proper judge) lay any obligation on him to retire from a Court, where he was fo much carefled, and from a Prince who had shewed him such uncommon marks of his favor? the feelings of nature might indeed make him refent an attempt to disappoint him in his views, by illegitimating the Princess: but furely it was no great generofity of foul that fent him into a monaftery to mutter that resentment in private. Thus it would appear, supposing Mr. Phillips's representation of facts to be true: but it is not only an account drest out with more pomp than it deserves, but happens not to be supported by the Historian whom he copies. Dudithius supposes Pale to have retired to Shene, not ' that he might withdraw from a Court which was become a scene of intrigue, to which his breast was a stranger; or because his integrity and gratitude would not allow him to interest himfelf less in the case or honor of the Queen, who was now treated with coldness and difregard; but' because his disposition inclined him not to lay aside the profecution of his studies, and says that he fpent two years there pleafantly.\* He remarks indeed.

P. 46.

<sup>\*</sup> Reversus, magna et Regem ipsum et Reginantvoluptate persudit; omnibulo; gratissimus suit ejus reditus. Sed ne hâc quidem ille re permoveri sic potuit, ut studiorum suorum curam ulla ex parte deponeret;

deed, that afterwards, milliking the King's procedings, and foreseeing a storm rising upon England from them, he desired leave to retire to Paris. Making his love of study his reason for retiring to Shene's and his discontent at the procedings in the divorce, his reason for quitting it, and removing to Paris.

About the time of Pole's coming over from Italy, the doubts concerning the lawfulness and validity of the King's marriage grow from the Lutherans denving the Pope's Power of Dispensation in general? which, if his marriage was questionable, (as the Levitical prohibitions had been confirmed by the general Councils, and received in England) the King appres hended would embroil the fuccession, and therefore was defirous to have that question examined and determined. Certainly (fays Lord Herbert) as it ape pears to me, it was in the beginning, as much as He (the King) could, in favor of the Princess his Daughter's But, in the progress, by Wolfey's intrigues to marry Henry with the Dutchels of Alincon, and Henry's love of Ann Bulen whom he could no otherwise obtain, he labored to be divorced from Catherine, and to illegitimate his Daughter, in favor of issue by Ann Bolen.

Alarmed at these proceedings, so destructive of that scheme which his ambition had been dreaming of, and tinctured with the Theology of Webster and Reynolds.

B Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 216.

ac veterem habitationem memorià repetens-dedit operam, ut Regis permissu ea domus sibi concederetur.—Obtinuit, ac duos inibi annos jucunde consumpsit. Post à verd, cum Regis Henrich animus immoderatis cupiditatibus laborare capisset,—imminentes toti Anglia sempestates longe prospiciens Polus abcundum sibi, ac santis sesse successive empore eripiendum existimavit. Dudith. Vit. Pol. p. 11.

Remolds, he refolves to leave the Kingdom for the present; and in order to qualify himself to judge in this cause, to quit his favorite study of the Clasficks for that of Divinity. Here Mr. Phillips breaks out in admiration of Reginold, 4 this is a facrifice to Duty; of which they only know the price, who have experienced the difficulty of making it." One would think that Reginald had made Glaucus's exchange, and from a difinterested friendship and duty to the King, had given up gold for brais. Surely such an opinion does but little honor either to Mr. Phillips or to his Hero; as if they put a greater value on the entiting words of Man's wifdon, then on the spords of truth and febernafs. k. Nay Pole would disclaim the encomnum and complain of his Biographen, as he did of Sadelet, for doing injury to the shody of Divinity by this proference of the Classicks. 1

With this view, he did not return to Itely, where Theology, as Erafmus observes, was little esteemed in comparison of Pagari learning: "but to Paris, which the faine Writer says, was as famous for its Superiority in theological Studies, as Rome was for its religious Supremacy." The King at sirst shewed an unwillinguiss to give him leave of absence, yet afterwards granted his request with a good grace; and continued the former marks of his bounty, which he had conferred on him during his stay at Padua.

He spent one year at Paris, from October 1529, to the October following, and during his stay there, the King, desirous to have the opinion of the Learned on his case of Conscience, consult-

h. P. 82. 1 Cor. iv. 41. k. Acts xxvi. 25: 1 Pol. Ep. ad Sadolet, see Phil. p. 80. m. Fr. Ep. Lib. xix. Ep. 91. n. Erasm. Epist. Lib. xiv. Ep. 1.

ed the Universities of Burope; and feat to Pole to folicit the caste at Paris. He excused himfelf on account of his want of experience, and 5 begged that some person, more conversant in the funnshion, might be cutrulted with it: and ano-" ther person was joined in the commission; Mr. Phillips, from Dudithius, fays, one of the Council came over to act in conjunction with him? but Mr. Pole tells us 'it was a French-man, one Langeius, as he calls him, who was appointed his Collegue. \* . This Gentleman did all the bufie mess, of which Pole had declared he had not a competent knowledge." This, I suppose he might declare with truth, being yet but in the furt year of his studies in Divinity; and Pole himself says, 4 that he might with truth plead this excuse's: but the reason he affigure, why he might plead this excuse of incompetent knowledge, is extraordinary, 'not indeed from any ignorance of the case, but because the clearer knowledge he had of it, the less he knew bow to set as he was defired.' What credit does fuch a writer expect should be given him. when he profess a want of experience and compotent knowledge, at that very time, that he declarest he had no ignorance at all of the case, but a diffite only ) which part of this contradiction are we to be-

• P. 61. from Pole de Unit. Ed. lib. 3. P Ibid.

Delata mini res est, addita Collega, Langeio Gallo, varo non tam nobilitate, qua præstabat, quam literis claro. Pol. Ep. Edv. vi. §. 12.

† Et eram plane imperitissimus, non ego quidem ut non nossem cause æquitatem: sed illam quo magis noram, co minus me aptom intelligebam ad rem ex voluntate tuâ gerendam. Pol, de Unit. Eccles. libe iii fol: 56.

lieve? We shall presently see that his profession of igintramee in the case was the truth, which was great often after that time.

This behaviour raised such sufficient of his diffinction to the King's cause, that his friends thought it necessary for him to return to England, to clear himself, as our Biographer relates it from Dudithius; but Reginald himself informs us, that he came over the report the success of his commission. If He accordingly returns Ostober, 1530, and retires again among his old acquaintance at Shene, and the Religious of Sign.

The first remarkable incident after §. 3. The his arrival, happened in the Convoca-King deilered tibn following, when the Clergy, Head of the having (by the antient Laws of Eng-Church of England) incurred a Premunire, in stimitland. ting to Willy as the Pope's Legate. redemed themselves by a large sum of money, and an acknowledgment that the King was supreme over all his Subjects, independent on the Pope; which acknowledgment was to be expressed by a new Tithe, excluding the Pope's authority over the Clergy, and owning the King supreme Head of the church of England. At first the Clergy refused this strange Title, not knowing the drift of it: but afterwards they complied. At which time Bishop Burnet supposes Pole, as Dean of Exeter, to have assented. Mr. Phillips teils us, 'He was prefent, as he (Pole)

informs

<sup>||</sup> Postquam Lutetia domum. confecto negotio, revertissem, ut Regi rationem legationis mez redderem. Ep. Edv. vi. §. 14.

informs us, when the Clergy's composition was refused, on their not admitting that Title; but not when they agreed to it.' And then, in the Notes, animadverts with great critical acumen on the Bishop's slander, as contrary to Pole's own after-The Bishop's conjecture is built on Reginald's being then in England, and Dean of Exeter, whose absence from the Convocation House on so important a point, it must be difficult to suppose. Against this conjecture, so reasonably sounded, the Biographer adventures another conjecture, that is built upon his own acknowledged ignorance; 'if conjecture, says he, of which I chuse to be sparing, may have place, it is not improbable that this absence was occasioned by circumstances, which, though unknown to us, exempted him from giving his Prince the uneafiness of an open, and at the same time, fruitless opposition.' As far as conjecture goes, the Bishop has greatly the advantage: but Pole's own affertion, it feems, is directly against him; his presence at one debate when the Title was not admitted, as Mr. Phillips says, is mentioned in the first Book of his Ecclefiastical Unity: his absence from another, when the Title was granted, is inthe third Book: now if this so long disjoined evidence had escaped the observation of Bishop Burnet, it might have been more candidly treated than to be called a flander, for the fake of the Biographer's own friends, those sharp-sighted Criticks and Animadverters on the Bishop's mistakes, Bossuet, Le Grand, and Niceron, who all feem to have been as inattentive to this evidence as the Bishop. But, how-

4 P. 71, 72. 72.

ever Eagle-sped the Dissoverer of this over-light has been, and however Mr. Phillips may plume himself upon it, it is a discernment, in which, unhappily, Mr. Phillips has no merit; for his whole note at p. 71, 72, is entirely borrowed from Cardinal Quirini's first vol. of Reginald Pole's Epistles; although the obligation is not mentioned by our Biographer.

Yet after all this acuteness of Cardinal Quirini, and triumph of Mr. Phillips over the Bishop, I. cannot help asking a question; whether the me prafentes or his presence, in the first Book does not refer to the time, when the Title, after baying been demurred to, was at last acknowledged; and whether the new interfui, or his absence, does not refer to the time, when the entire abolition of the Pope's power weas carried in 1534, and Reginald was out of the Kingdom? This appears, to me to be the truth of the case, in the passages referred to. In that of me prafente, Pala appravates, the iniquity of the King's claim in this Rhetorical manner. The honor of being supreme Head of the Church, certainly you ought not to have asked; you ought not to have asked with threats; you ought not to have forced the achnowledgment of it from persons unwilling to yield it : as you did IN MY PRESENCE, when you refused to subscribe certain Instruments, containing their. · Offering of a great fum of money, unless it were added, that this was paid to you as supreme. Head of the Church in England.\* The other Passage,

# P. 242, 249.

Sed hoc dicam, hunc honorem certè petere non debuisses; hoc dicam, petere, adhibitis etiam minis, non debuisses

in his third Book, fays, the King infifted on it, that all the States or Orders in the kingdom offered him this Title: now, fays he, I, who was neither present, nor heard it from any one that was prefent, boldly affirm not one of those Orders gave their consent.\* Now all the States did not subscribe to this Title till the Year 1534, when Pole was abroad. Therefore his absence does not refer to the year 1531, when that title was acknowledged by the Convocation; but to the year 1534 when all the States and Orders gave their consent? In the last he was ablent, being out of the kingdom ! but he was prefent, by his own confession, in the other: for he fays, that then the King forced people, who were unwilling, to acknowledge him Head of the Church of England. How does he know this I He himself was one of them, ME PRESENTE; therefore, although unwillingly, he made this acknowledgment. So that the Bishop's conjecture is confirmed, not invalidated, by Pole's evidence; and อน โดยได้ เรื่อ

debuisses; ab invitis exprimere non debuisses: quemadmodum, ME QUIDEM PRÆSENTE, fecisti, qui certis deplomatis, quibus maximæ ab illis tibi concesse pecuniæ testimonium continebatur, subscribere recusaris, nistissed este adscriptum, tibi eam pecuniam, ut Supremo in Anglia Ecclessæ capiti persolutam esse. Pol. de Unit. Eccl. Lib, i. fol. 1.

Hunc honoris titulum tibi OMNIUM ORDINUM confensu delatum esse contensus. At ego, qui, dam hæc statuerentur, non adfui, constantissime assirmo, nullum ordinem in hunc tuum honoris titulum confensissed quo modo; qui non intersui, hoc scire possum? Equidem non solum non intersui, fed ne ab alio quidem, qui ipse intersuisset, accepi. Pol. de Unit. Eccles. Lib. iii. fol. 58.

Bossuet, Ise Grand, and Niceron may be excused for not remarking this as one of Dr. Burnet's mistakes.

But Mr. Phillips is persuaded, without evidence, that Reginald was absent when this Title was first subscribed in Convocation; and makes another attempt to account for it. 'He has not informed us, says he, of the reasons of his conduct in this particular; or how he came to be absent, at so critical a juncture, from an Assembly, to which he belonged in his spiritual capacity, and where his rank, parts, and character must have made him the chief Personage. His disinterested and intrepid behavious in the affair of the Divorce, is a sufficient warmant that no unbecoming motive regulated his constituted in this.'

the affair of the Divorce, how difinterested or intropid soever, was (as I apprehend) after the case of the premunite; if so, is preposterously placed as the justification of his preceding conduct. However, Let us examine the disinterested and intrepid behaviour of Reginald in the affair of the Divorce.

The death of Wolfey in November,

4. The 1530, the month after Pole came over, opened two rich Benefices, York
and Winchester. The King some time
after, willing to be affured of Pole's opinion, offered
him York (which Dudithius says was worth 300001.

per annum ) on condition of approving the Divorce.
This was a very trying point; he must either foregoe
the immediate possession of the Archbishoprick, an
honor; which, if he had nothing further in view,
outs described.

\* P. 72. \* Vita Reg. Poli, p. 14.

he would gladly have accepted; (for, as Starkey tells him, he had been noted of some men to have over much respect of worldly circumstance,) w or else he must take Orders, which he had hitherto declined, and renounce his hopes of Mary and the Crown. This raised great perturbation in his mind how to act. His friends perfuade him to oblige the King his Benefactor, and confult the interests of his family: Private opinion and conscience, as he says, pleaded on the other hand: at length after having diligently weighed the arguments on both fides, he promifes to fatisfy the King, or in other words to defert the cause of the Queen and the Princess, contrary to his conscience; blinded, as he himself acknowledges, with a defire to oblige men, rather than to please God.\* Behold this illustrious example of firmness and generosity of soul, superior to hope and fear, and every tender feeling of nature! For the making good this promise, an interview was appointed by the King: at which interview, no fooner did he fee the King advancing toward him with great complacence, than the bare fight of him, who had thwarted his dearer scheme, so disturbed him, that resentment took place of duty, and of his promife: for a time, he could not utter a word, either of what he came prepared

<sup>\*</sup> Strype Mem. Eccl. vol. 1, App. p. 196.

Tandem verò totà re, causaq; diligentius mecum consideratà, collatisq; inter se argumentis, quæ in utramq; partem in montem veniebant; amicis dixi, sperare me viam invenisse, qua et Regis desiderio, et meæ conscientiæ satisfacere possem. Atq; ita sane judicabam, studio plus hominibus obsequendi, quam Deo parendi obcæcatus. Ep. ad Edv. V1. in Quirini, vol. i. p. 258.

prepared to say, or of what the King's presence suggested; but at length overcoming the struggle, he launched out freely against the Divorce, and the ill consequences of it. This account, instead of giving us an instance of a trial to which only the greatest men are equal, shews us nothing more than the common weakness of irresolute men, sluctuating betwixt the choice of a present and suture advantage, and, loath to quit either, lose both. Of which folly, as soon as Pole was convinced he had been guilty, by the King's angrily withdrawing, this Great Man burst into tears. Behold his disinterested and intrepid behaviour in the affair of the Divorce!

Mr. Phillips tells us, that ' though Pole was conficious of having acted that part which alone became him, yet he felt the uneafiness of his Prince's difpleasure; and having deliberated on a proper method to remove it, he thought it most adviseable to 's fend him his reasons in writing, with an affurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the pur-port of the Letter had been communicated to nobody.' This fecrecy has in great measure prevented our seeing this Letter; but it had that effect, that the King told Lord Montague, ' your Brother has given me fuch good reasons for behaving as he did, that I am under a necessity of taking all he wrote in good part; and could he but gain on himself to sapprove of my separation from the Queen, no one would be dearer to me,'y. The King's faying, that Reginald had given him good reasons for behaving as he did; and yet entertaining hopes of his approving the Divorce, appears something mysterious; but a Letter

× P. 68. × P. 69.

Letter of Cranner to the Earl of Wiltshire, giving an account of some secret Letter sent by Pole to the King, will, I think, enable us a little better to judge of that writing, and explane the King's meaning. Mr. Strype, who gives us Cranmer's Letter in the Appendix to his Life of that Prelate, 2 fays, he cannot tell on what occasion Pole's Letter was written: but guesses it was about the year 1530; because he mentions, that the King had now lived 20 years with his Queen; and that it appears to have been written folely for the King's use. This is certainly that secret writing we wanted. It is dated 13 June; and Strype must be mistaken in assigning it to the year 1530, because Pole was not then arrived in England; Cranmer describes it as written with much eloquence, art, and plaufibility, fufficient to deceive the people if it had been published; but not with much judgment. Among some of the contents, which he mentions, are thefe; He shews why he e never chose to meddle in this cause, which was the trouble that thence was likely to ensue to this realing from diversity of titles; from whence what hurt might come we have had example in our Father's days by the Titles of Lancaster and York. And whereas God had given many noble gifts to the King's Grace as well of body and mind, as also of fortune, yet this excedeth all other, that in Him all titles meet, and the realm is restored to great tranquility. He therefore ought to provide that this land do not fall again into the same misery and trouble, which may come as well by the people within I this realm, which think affuredly that they have an

Heir already, with whom they are well contented, and would be forry to have any other. And it would be bard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her. He dwells much on political reasons, but touches very flightly on what was chief in the argument, the religious part; as for the Law of God, he thinks it may be interpreted as well for the King's marriage (with Catherine) as against it; yet if the King did undoubtedly think this marriage was against God's pleafure, he could not deny but it should be well done for the King to refuse this marriage, and to take another wife: but that he himself could never find in bis heart to be a setter forward thereof. yet he granteth, that he hath no good reason therefore, but only affection which he beareth, and of duty oweth to the King's person; for in so doing, he Spould not only weaken, yea and utterly take away the Princes's title, but also accuse the King of living in abominable matrimony.

By this, his own account, we find that Religion had very little weight in Pole's argument; God's law was as much on one lide as the other: his chief motives were political; and that which lay closest to his heart was the Princess's legitimacy and title to the crown. If the King attempted to set aside this, he doubted not but that the people would take up arms in her defence. Now as he declares he was not thoroughly convinced on which side the Scriptures were, the King did not despair but that in time, the affection he pretended, and temporal conveniencies might bring him over. Henry therefore would not entirely cast him off; but Pole having views inconsistent with those of his Royal Master, thought he should get nothing here, without quitting plan; which

he

he could not find in his heart to resolve one. The King presently named Dr. Edward Lee for the Archbishop-rick of York; and Pole, not long after obtained leave to go to Avignon to pursue his studies, with the con-

tinuance of his pension.

Mr. Phillips tells us that it does not appear that . the abatement of the King's favor, and the confequent coolness of his Courtiers, ' had any share in the resolution, he took soon after, of retiring a fetime from England.' . Whereas Beccatelli, who fays he relates nothing but what he himfelf faw, or was informed of by Pole himself, or others of undoubted credit, acquaints us, that Pole being troubled at the King's displeasure, and the alienation of mind in others from him, thought it prudent to retire from England, before his affairs were in a worse situation, It must be acknowledged, Pole himself tells us, the occasion of his retreat was the admission of Cromwell to the chief management of civil affairs. Now, beside that I dare never rely on Pole's testimony when not supported by others, especially when contradicted by others, as by Beccatelli in this case, and that probably from Pole's own information in private conversation, when he spake with less disguise; I think Cromwell's promotion could not be a fufficient motive for his recess; but the frowns of the King and of the Court were. The profligate principles, which he ascribes to Cromwell, and affigus as the reason why he chose not to live in a Court where they prevaled, are misrepresented; and even had Cromwell professed them, we shall find that Pole was content to affift in another Court where they were confessedly

<sup>\*</sup> P. 72. b Vit. Pol. p. 16. c Apol. §. 27,

confelledly practifed. To fix this charge on Cronwell, he presents us with a piece of advice as given by him to the King, to induce him to purfue his in-Elinations in the affair of the Divorce; which he could not know, being fecretly delivered in the Royal Closes, But parches it up from threds of discourse Which he had heard fall from him, or were reported to him from others. Moulding a speech in this manner, and giving it for History, is too glaring an art of lander to impose upon ingenuous Inquirers, though it may iniflead others. To prevale on the King, whom he represents from hearfay evidence, as about to yield to the Pope's Decree, and to give up his own judgment in the case, he makes Cromwell advance, that ' the nature of rectitude was variable. that none had a better title to change it than Kings, b whose prerogative it was to have the very Laws de-Frive their force and Rability from their will." But What occasion was there for this false maxim, (as it is, when acherally proposed) when the debate in question relied upon the contrary maxim, the Law of God, which was not variable? for, as he procedes, 4 what he advanced was with no view to the "'debate in question, concerning which there was f no cause to recede from received opinions. Law of God which forbade marriage with a Brother's widow, and the decisions of the Univerfittes having declared in his favor, what farther room could there be for doubting or disputing about what was right?" Whoever attentive-Ty confiders Pole's account of this advice in his Apology to Cæfar, fection 27, will discern what Mark

must have been the scope and force of it. Finding the King likely to be overpowered by the Pope's obstinately refusing to annul a Marriage unlawfully dispensed with, Cromwell observes to him, that there were some Laws not founded in natural rectifude; but arbitrarily inforced, and as capriciously dispensed with, which could not be if they were founded in nature: that of this kind were the Pope's Laws,; that his refusing to annul the King's marriage was an instance of arbitrary power, which the King in his own dominions had no obligation to submit to; efpecially in this case, where his own will agreed with the will of God, in rejecting a marriage forbidden by him, and condemned by the general Confent of the Learned. That prudence indeed might direct an attempt to gain the Pope's approbation and permission in the case, for fear of temporal inconveniencies; but if he perfifted in refusing to yield to the King, the King would be to blame to fubmit to the impolitions of a foreign power; and that by affirming his just authority in his own dominions he might enable himself to oppose and avoid the temporal inconveniencies which might threaten him. 11 This feems to have been the substance of Cromoell's advice; which appeared to reasonable: that Pole acknowledges, ' some of his acquaintance, who had a reputation for prudence, and had hitherto condemned the King's defigns, were prevaled on to approve them.'! Which they hardly would have done, had he infifted that the King's will was above all Law. Pole, as if aware of the injury done to Cromwell by this representation, supposes the Reader will ask, how he came to know that Cromwell thought.

1 P. 76.

thought, that Laws depended entirely on the will and opinion of men? This, he fays, he collects from one or two conferences he had with him on his first return from Padua, when he obligingly recommended to him to add the knowledge of men and things to his academical fludies; and not dream that the government of States could be carried on by the impracticable declamations of the Schools. offered to lend him a book, if he would read it, that should lead his mind from speculation to practice: But although he never fent this Book, nor told him what it was, yet Pole boldly affirms it was Machiaver's Il Principe, because, by his spies he had discovered Cromwell had that book in his study, and sometimes read in it. And then procedes to impute to Cnamuell all the wicked politics of that Treatife, It might as logically be concluded, that I am a seditions Rapist, and deny the King's Supremacy; because I have in thry study, and often look into it, Mr. Phillips's Life of Reginald Pale. But whatever Crometell's opinion of this Book was, the Author of it we know was a Papift; fome of his most profligate maxime are drawn from the practice of Chriss pretended vigars; as when he would recommend to Princes the joining the Fox to the Lion, he instances in Pope Alexander VI who never did, nor thought of any thing but cheating's and though no man ever promifed a thing with greater affeveration, nor confirmed it with more oaths and imprecations, and observed them less; were understanding the world well, he never miscarried. And if dead Popes furnished him with his worst maxims, those maxims found approbation and privi-

<sup>5</sup> Apol. 5. 28. h Il Principe, Cap. 18.

lege from the living ones; ' Leo X. after the work was published, had cherish'd the Author amongst his Intimates; he had escaped the censure of Aarian VI; and Clement VII. to whom he had dedicated his History of Florence, had granted an ample privilege to an edition of all his works. 1 Yet the Soul of one righteous man, and he a Briton, fays Mr. Phillips, discerned more than seven centinels from a For which he quotes the Book of Prowatch tower. verbs at large without chapter or verse. But the Reader will be puzzled to find it there, it is in Ecclus. xxxvii. 14. according to the vulgate. But ' the vulgate throws the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of & Solomon, and of the Son of Syrach together in a confused magnificence; 'k which confusion Mr. Phillips is inclined rather to increase than to digest. Pole discovered the iniquity of those maxims which some Popes had practiced and others had approved and recommended; and then blames Cromwell for them.

With all due deference to this wife man, the defign of that Treatife, which Pole was informed of at Elogence, and which Machineval himself gives in his Letter to Zenabio Buondelmonti, is still believed among the Florentines to this day to be the true one; against ill Princes and in favor of the people. The tour of his arguments is to prove that a despotick Prince must kill such and such people to secure himself. The people would naturally draw the conclusion he proposed they should draw, 'therefore suffer not such a Prince to be.' His character, as delivered by tradition at Florence, and confirmed by his familiar letters

Life of Pole, p. 79. \* Study of facred Literature, &c. p. 28.

ters, now in the hands of the Abbate del Riccio there, is that of an honest man; rather weak and ignorant in his private affairs; no Scholar, for the beauties, borrowed from the Greek and Latin writers in his works were supplied by Marcellus Virgilius, 25 Machiavel himself owned to Jovius; he kept the best company at Florence; and was one of the Confraternita demi-religiosa's, of which there are several in that city: these are so many voluntary Religious Societies; that which he belonged to, used to meet once a week for devotion, in a Church of theirs; and among other things, one of the Society used to make a moral Discourse to the rest. There are several of these Discourses of Machiavel's in the same Abbe's hands; and one in the Great Duke's, in lode della penitenza, spoken by him in the same Society. This account of Machiavel was given to my ingenious and learned Friend the Author of Polymetis, in 1732, by Dr. Cocchi. Physician to the Great Duke of Florence. He was rather fuspected of being a Conspirator, than an encourager of Despotism; as the great praises he bestowed on Brutus and Cassius, and the suspicions of his being engaged with the Soderini against the House of Medicis, prove; this is supposed to lie at the bottom of his il Principe. So that the sharp fighted Pole saw only what lay on the furface, and could not penetrate the depth of Machiavel's defign: He, in his low fituation, could fee only the skirmishing parties in front; but the centinels from the watch tower could discern the main strength of the army advancing behind.

The strongest, nay only argument he gives to prove that Cromwell adopted those maxims is, his own recess from England as soon as he saw that minister

. nifter come into favor \*: but Receatell pings and ther and sufficient reason for his quitting the Court and that was the coldness he found in it. If the promotion of a minister, who taught, that the Prince's Will is the measure of the Law, forced him to fly from England as an inhospitable shore, what made him so soon after to take shelter at the Court of Rome. where almost as soon as he arrived, he acknowledges the fame maxims prevaled, and had brought religion into contempt; which he and his Collegues refer to this origine, that some Popes heaped up Teachers after their own Lusts, I not to learn from them what they ought to do, but that they should take pains and employ their wit to find out ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleafed, insomuch, that the Pope's will and pleasure, whatever it be, must needs be the rule for all that he does; which doubtless would end in believing every thing

\* Nullum tamen producam, sed id argumentum, quod ad adstruendam sidem meam in hac re plus omnibus testibus valeat, id est, subitum discessim meum, ut eum in authoritate apad Regem, crescere widebam. Appol. 6. xxviii.

† Hâc Regis offensione permotus Polus, cum aliorum etiam in se animos ea re concitatos videret, faciendum sibi omnino putavit, ut ante, quam pejore res loco esse inciperent, ex Anglia excederet. p. 16.

principium horum malorum inde fuisse, quod nonnulli Pontifices tui prædecessores, prurientes auribus, ut inquit Apostolus Paulus, coacervarent sibi magistros ad desideria sua, non ut ab sis discerent, quod facere deberent, sed ut carum studio et calliditate, inveniretus ratio, qua liceret, quod liberet in ita quod soluntas Pontificis, qualiscunque ea suerit, sit regula, qua ejus operationes

ac actiones dirigantur: ex quo procul dubio effici, ut quicquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Confilium de emendanda Ecclefia.

thing lawful that he had a mind to. Is it credible then, that Cromwell's holding the like opinion (if he did hold it) was indeed the reason of Pole's leaving the Court of Henry? of his leaving it, who had been taught by his own Friends, and who had resolved to follow their advice, ' to steer an oblique course, if it would equally bring him into Port And as to Cromwell's character, if we take it from his actions, or from those who knew him well, it shines with a lustre which Pole and Phillibs cannot obscure. Lord Herbert tells us, he was noted in the exercise of his places of Judicature to have used much moderation; and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance; and therein had a virtue which his master the Cardinal (Wolfer) wanted. And when the Cardinal was falling, by an uncommon gratitude and greatness of mind, remembring his obligations to his Benefactor, he purposely got into the House of Commons, to defend him, and succeded in his generous service. A virtue, for want of which his fellow Domestick, Gardiner, was infamous, who deferted the falling Cardinal; a virtue to which the boafted Pole was a franger, who returned the unexampled kindness and bounty of his Royal Master with contempt, abuse, differtion, and treason. Wolfey's penetration was 'discernible in his choice of those whom he employed about him, three of which were very eminent: More, Gardiner, and Cromwell: but Cromwell has the preference in the comparison, which was made by a Cotemporary, who succeded Pole in the chair of Canterbury;

<sup>1</sup> P. 66.

m P. 462.

Conferency; he tells us that More was a hetter Scholar than Gardiner; that Gardiner was a hetter Law-yer than More; and that Cromwell had more good fonse and virtue than either of them.\*

Indeed Mr. Phillips is much smharraffed, and often led to contradict his original, by not adjusting the times when these two scenes were acted, relating to the Divorce, and the King's new Title. He therefore fays, that York was offered to him 'a few days after Cardinal Wol-' fey's death,' which happened in Nov. 1: Beccatelli and Dudithius both fay, it was kept vacant four months + He calls the event of the King's Title. 4 a fresh opportunity of testifying his steadiness, 'e as if it happened after the other: but Cranmer's letter, giving an account of Pale's writing to the King, on the affair of the Divorce, was in June, whereas the Convocation, which subscribed the Title, broke up in March. And this displacing the facts is done. that he may make his steadiness on the one event (when he behaved with the greatest irresoluteness that ever man did) an excuse for his behaviour in another, that really happened before. Yet our Biographer reproves all the Historians for their difagreement with

## n P. 64. P. 69.

\* Ex quibus Morus Gardinero doctior, coq: Gardinerus juris peritior fuit: at Cromwellus utroq; pruden-tior atq; fanctior. Antiquit. Britann. Ecclef. in vita Warhami, p. 467.

† Optionem dat, ut, utram malit, ex duabus Ecclessis, qua tam forte vacabant Eboracensem et Wintoniens sibi deligat. atq; hujus quidem rei causa Rex quatuor menses Wintoniensem Episcopatum, post etiam Eboracensem Archiepiscopatum penes se retinuit. Dudith. p. 13.

With matter of fact, in mistaking the year of Pole's first return to England, and corrects it from the dates of two of Bembe's Letters, which disagreement he allows is not material: but, fays he, ' the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are onot fo.' P This discovery of the mistake from the date of Bembo's letters is taken, without acknowledgment, from Quirini; 9 but the boaft of accuracy, even in trifles, is the Biographer's own. And how far he deferves his own commendation we have just seen. Surely if he thought fit to assume such merit to himself for accuracy, in a point acknowledged not material, and which he borrowed from another, he ought to have taken more care in points more material. The feries of events, which lie diforderly confused in him, may be thus adjusted:

1530. Oct. Pole returns to England. Phill. p. 63.

Nov. 29. Wolfey's death vacates the sees of York and Winchester. Consentium omnes.

Dec. Pole acquainted with the King's design of promoting him to one of the vacant Sees. Pol. Epist. ad Edw. VI.

1531. Jan. 6. The Parliament meets. Ld. Herbert, p. 319.

March 22. The Supremacy passed. Rapin, vol. 1.

April. After four months vacancy either of the vacant Sees is offered to Pole. Dud.

Many conferences betwixt him and the D. of Narfolk.

D. May

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May. About the end of it, the month expires which was given Pole to consider on the terms of accepting the King's offer,

June. In the beginning of it, Pole's interview with the King.

fire. Strype.

July. Lee was elect of York. Strype.

Dec. Lee takes possession of the Archbishoprick, having been vacant a complete year: he died Sept. 1544, having sate paulo missus 13 years. Godwyn de Prasul.

1532. Jan. Pole might go to Avignon; which being in his fecond year, Dudithius, reckoning the running year, might call two years in England.

Sept. Leaves Avignon before he had completed a year there. Dudithius and Bembo.

And now, on Reginald's taking leave of England, let us review his character as it hitherto appears; of a gentle disposition, easily wrought on, and thence fluctuating, fond of classical learning and polite literature, very animated in his stile, and elegant in his compositions, with a generolity of spirit that inclined him to ambition, \* and a fondness for outward circumstance; his knowledge of Divinity but little, and his judgment.

## ! Starkey's Letters.

Ardor ille, qui animis præstantibus ad appetendas res magnas comes adesse solet, nihil mihi non de te vel maximum pollicebatur. Sadol. Epist. ad Polum. Quirini, vol. 1. p. 419.

ment more exercised in Politicks than Theology. With regard to his Prince, I doubt not but that he himself thought he had a sincere love and honor for him, from relation, from duty, from uncommon obligations, from affection to his daughter with whom he hoped, nay had been taught to believe, that he ought in justice to receive the crown in dowry. But when the King's conduct endangered her succession, it then appeared how little, comparatively, the other springs had contributed to his regard for his master.

In the two concerning points which came before him, the Supremacy and Divorce, he by no means acted like the Great Man, which his Biographer would represent him; from sear he consented to the first, against his judgment: and from ambition opposed the other, though he had no good reason therefore; but because it would weaken, yea utterly take away the Princess's Title.

But I must leave Reginald in his \$. 5. Object way to Avignon to wait on Mr. Philtion to the Dithe Divorce, as creating difficulties in a very plane case, averse from truth, mercenaries. and condemned even by their own party. question was long ventilated, by our ancestors; Mr. Phillips and I have nothing new to offer; but if he will revive stale objections, he makes it necessary to produce the old answers. The pretence, says he, for calling the legality of the King's marriage in question, was a prohibition recorded in Leviticus, by which the Yews were forbidden to manry the widow of a deceased Brother; and it was urged, that the Law was equally binding under the Chris-D 2

tian and Mofaical dispensation; and being founded on the mature of thirtys, could not be dispensed with. "This objection had been fully confidered, when the marriage was in debate; and answered in the following manner, to the entire fatisfaction of e all parties: That the Law in question, even at the time it was enacted, admitted of exceptions, which were not only authorised, but even prefcribed, by God himfelf. That the Law-giver had fuppoled the case of a man dying without issue, and 4 not only permitted, but commanded his Brother to marry the widow, on pain of being declared infamous. In this manner the question concerning · Henry's marriage would have been of no very 4 difficult folution, had the fearch of truth alone been intended; but the abettors of a powerful King's paffion for perplexed it, that the heads of men grew giddy in endeavouring to find any meaning of the Law, but the true.'s

Perhaps, strictly speaking, marriage against nature is only betwirt Parents and Children: that between Brothers and Sisters was, at first, so far from being contrary to nature, that it was necessary, among the immediate Children of Adam: but after the world was increased, and there was choice, for the preservation of chastity, laws were made to prohibit the congress of near relations, as of brothers and fisters by consanguinity or affinity; in which regard to common decency most nations did agree; insomuch that Diodorus Siculus calls it a common custom,\*

P. 36, 37.

<sup>\*</sup> Kond ibes wie delgemen. Diodor, Sicul. lib. t. cap.

and Plate calls marriages against that common decency, impious and deteiled by the Gods. In fome cases; and in the Zewish flate:more particularly, :God differsied with his own law, in which flate that difpensation, in those cases, was certainly valid. In the !Choiftian: Law: the : general : rule is, provide : things honestin the fight of all men ; and things of good report : to determine those points with more precision, with respect to marriage, the old Canons of the Church tell us what marriages are contrary to this honesty and good report, guided by the Levitical prohibitions and the common consent of mankind: among which, that between a man and his Brother's widow is expressly mentioned. + I presume it will not be denied, that these marriages were forbidden by the old Canons of the Church; then it cortainly lay upon the maintainers of the validity of fuch marriages, tag shew, that the same authority that prohibited those marriages had since allowed them ; or that they had given to the Pope a power of dispensing with them. That the Pope affumes to himself such a power is easily granted; but that any General Gouncibhad given him such power did not appear.

But the judgment of those, who condemned the marriage as null from the beginning, says Mr. Phillips, was purchased with money. "The King, foreseeing the little prospect of saccess (at the appropriate Court) imagined a pecuniary influence to mright purchase of the Schools what it had failed of the Schools what i

ins † Μπδαμώς όσια και θιομισή. Plato de leg. lib. viii.
† Nata, Soror, Neptis, Metertera, Fratris et Uxor,
Et Patris conjux, mater, Privigia, noverca,
Uxorifque Soror, Privigni nata, nurufque,

Δλήμα Soror Patris, conjungi lego remntut.

at the Court of Rome: and fent his abents to have the opinion of the most celebrated universities, that is; to buy their voites? I shall not distinguish betwixt bribes offered to influence judgmenth and rewards given by a munificent Prince ; for detaileles both were practiced: History abundantly, informs us, that formetimes Princes are mean enough set company and that Scholars are not always virtuous enough to refift' their temptations. Had Mr. Phillips admitted this on the fide of the Pope and the Emperour on this occasion, as well as on the King's part, he had faved me the trouble of repeting from Bp. Burnet, that the influences on the Emperour's fide were fo greatly superior, that it was a common faving at Ferrara, that they, who wrote on the King's fide, had only crowns, but they, who wrote on the other fide, had good benefices. " And of mentioning from Lord Herbert the testimony of Croke, the King's agent in Italy, who declares, that at Bononia many were retained by the Pope, and that those, who had concurred with the Kling, refused both bribes and rewards; faying, that what the Spirit had freely suggested, they as freely communicated. And that both there and at Padua, the Emperour by threats, folicitations, Bribes, and preferments, both intimidated the King's friends; and kept his own fready. W Nor should I have reminded him, unless thus needlessly urged, that his Holiness himfelf, who had acknowledged the King's cause to be just; and promifed that he would give sentence in his favor; yet afterwards, being threatened by the Emperour, that he would depose him for some canonical objections; and moved by other felfish and political reasons, altered his opinion, and decided against it, prostitu-

\* P. 592 \* His hist vol. 1. p. 90. THerb. p. 301.

ting not only 'genius and learning, as lucrative 'ware;' but even, his pretended infallibility, and the guidance of the Spirit, as a mean, 'not to 'infaract mankind, but to miferal them.'x

But it seems our Protestant Brethren condemned us; 4 The Protestant Doctors of Germany were like. wife to be confulted; and it must be acknowledged to their honor, that, though political reasons might have biaffed them towards a compliance to the King of England and his mistress, who was suspected to be a Lutheran, yet they chose to act uprightly and give their real fentiments, though in favor of a Pringe (Charles V.) who was their adversary.' This again is borrowed from Quirini; but whether Phillips, Quirini, or Larry be the witness, matters not; let us examine the fact. The Lutherans were divided on the question; all agreed that the Pope's dispensation wrought no effect; but some judged. that the King's marriage was not void and null, as it was not against the Law of Nature, and because the Levitical prohibitions did not oblige Christians. These seem not to have attended to what was obferved before, that the Interpreters of the evangelical Law, the old Canons and General Councils had confirmed this prohibition, as fuch marriages were contrary to things banest and of good report : others thought, that the marriage at first was against good morals; and therefore ought not to have been made; but yet, having been made, ought not to be dissolved. They, and we, judged it a nefarious marriage, condemned by the Christian Church, and not dispensed with by a sufficient authority.

D.4.

But

<sup>\*</sup> P. fol: \* F. 60, quoted from Earry Hist. Aug.

and only but arismil the children of Libord IV. -m 5.6. Mccomit But thin was nat procence while, These of And Bolen. Mr. .. Phillips to the most powerful but a sucrement foring to thefe proceedings was the A influence of whin bloken who was illustry itetlimed Astrom them French Gourt, and now began to appear sat that of England, in the bloom of youth wand with all those blandishments, by which art; and a 5 defire to pleafe, stymed attention: The Kinge not long after, was Veisud with a violent paffor for her, which the practiced every art to inflame, vet f refused to gravify. 21 He had mentioned two other concurring motives, diflike to the Queen, now not likely to bring him more children; and Wolfey's intrigues in resentment against the Emperour. as none of these reasons could be pleaded as arguments for diffolving his marriage; he alledged a concern for his people on account of the illegitimack, and confequently the doubtful right of the Princels Mary to the crown; and an uneafiness of conscience concerning the lawfulness of marriage with a Brother's Relict.'s Sometimes he tells us, Wolfey's revengeful Spirit fet the Divorce on foot, 16 at other times he doubts whether it gave birth to the project, or only encouraged and flattered the King- in it: c but roundly affects the most powerful spring was his love of Ann Bolen.

The Emperour and French King's Ambassadours had objected to Mary's legitimacy; whether seriously or politically matters not, the effect was the same, the bringing the validity of the King's marriage into question. And Henry remembered what Richard III, had

P. 38. P. 38. P. 28. P. 37.

had objected against the children of Edward IV. that they were illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the grown, from the less grounded pretence of the invalidity of their Father's marriage. And Lords Harbers from eniginals and Records, which he had to carefully examined, as to recommend his account for, a more than ordinary piece of History, declares the King did it, as it appears to him, at first, in favor of the Princess his Daughter. I mean not to deny that the King's passion for Ann Bolen was a powerful impulse, superadded in the progress of the affair ; whom he first folicited for a Mistress, intending to take as his future Queen some one who should be the cement of a powerful alliance: but when he found her virtue too great to be corrupted, his passion then got the better of his Politicks. This Mr. Phillips represents as Coquetry in Ann Bolen, practicing every art to inflame the King's passion, but yet refuling to gratify it. But I am perfuaded a more simple and truer account may be given of her conduct from her love of the young Lord Percy; for whose sake she set her price to the King at a higher rate-than the imagined he would bid up to; and her disappointment in that match made her never forgive Wolfer. whom the apprehended to be the cause of it. As to the actual Divorce, whatever the motives were which induced the King to it, it was well obferved by one in the House of Lords, after Granner, had determined it, 'I cannot find what the Pope flould take ill; for is anything done by our Archbishop, but what, not only the Pope himself, but the most famous Universities of Christendom have declared lawful? So that, if after fix years suspension of the cause, we have determined the butiness as

the Pope) himself confessed he mould have deale, but for fear of the Emperour; what offence can

he take? will be complain, he is not able to do us

s justice, and yet be frandalized if it be done by o-

thers? of shall the executing what he shought rea-

\* fonable be judged a fault, when the not executing

thereof must (in all equity) have made us the great-

er criminals ?'.d

But amongst many other injurious restections on Ann Bolen's memory, which shall be considered. I must not conceal one piece of justice which Mr. Phillips has done her, in rejecting the abfurd malice of Sanders and other Catholick Writers, who make her daughter to the King himfelf, begotten by him before he was fourteen years old; debauched by her Father's Chaplain and Butler at fifteen, although the had quitted England when the was but feven : deformed to a shocking degree, and yet was the minion to two Kings, and for generally defired as to obtain the name of the Hackney of England. This abfurd flander Mr. Phillips can no longer believe; 'It ought, fays he, at the fame time to be remarked, that as He (Pole) gives not the least infinuation of any looseness of behaviour in Ann Bolen. before Henry's passion for her, or of a criminal commerce between her Mother and the King, of which she has been said to be the fruit, these reports are to be looked on as defittute of foundation. Had the facts been real, they would not have escaped the knowledge of one so well informed; nor been overlooked in a work, where every aggravation, which regards this article, is let

<sup>4</sup> Herb. Hist. p. 167.

signeth in all its iniquity, and heightened with all s the coloring that indignation and elequence can e give.' The candor of this acknowledgment, fach as it is, is challenged by Cardinal Quirini, who favs, Candor, which I profess, obliges me to ac-\* knowledge, that what Sanders and other Catholick 4. Writers frequently deliver of Ann Bolen's loofeness before her marriage with Henry is not a little cona tradicted by Pole's filence; and this I willingly do. although no one has done it before me.' housted Candor of Catholicks; who, after having defamed a Queen's virtue through 200 years, though by the means of glaring ablurdities, challenge a merit for believing impossibilities no longer! And how poor must that Gentleman's own stock of candor be. who can find in his heart to rob Cardinal Quirini of this trifling reputation? And yet this little, and that the not his own, Mr. Phillips grudges, and is unwilling to afford without a confiderable drawback. For he tells us all Pole fays of her amounts to a farcalm, that the must needs be chaste, as the chose e to be the King's Wife, rather than his Miffres : but that the might have learnt, how from he was " fated with these who had belonged to him in the "latter quality; and if other examples were want-'ing,

## · P. 61, 62.

\* Candor, quem ipse profiteor, profectò effecit, ut, dum agerem de nuptiis Annæ fiolenæ cum Flennico, Rege, quæ ad earum infamiam augendam à Sandero, alisse; scriptoribus Catholicis passin traduntur de illius fæminæ antequam Henrico conjungeretur libidinibus, Poli in libro de unitate Catholicâ filentio non mediceriter oppugnari, volens libense; (nemine quoil quidem sciam, præsunte) faterer. Quirini, vol. 1. p. 6.

sing, that of her own Sifter was enough.' This charge was more explicitly declared just before, where he told us that Pole shews ' how inexcufable the King was in pretending that a dispensation to marry his Brother's Widow was invalid, at the fame time that he was fuing for one, which would enable him to marry a person, whose Sister he had corrupted, provided the nullity of his former marsquage could be proved.'s Methinks their candor diminishes apace, and will not only entirely disappear, but degenerate into malice, if intended, by giving up a charge of incest which cannot be true. to draw us to admit it in another instance, which they cannot prove. Let us then examine the charge and the evidence. This too, as usual, is taken immediately from Quirini; who says, ' Pole at length reproaches the King, that at that very time, when he rejected as null the Pope's dispensation to marry his Brother's Widow, he earnestly requested even of the Pope himself, that he might marry the sister of one who had been his Mistress; and also had sobtained that request, if it were proved that the Pope had no power of dispensing in the former case.'\*. Quirini, we see, not only says, that the King was abfurd enough to ask a dispensation of this kind of the

## F P. 62. F P. 61.

\* Demum exprobat, Regem, quo ipso tempore Pontiscis dispensationem de uxore fratris ducenda ceu irritam rejiciebat, ab eodem Pontisce magna vi contendisse, ut fibi diceret ducere Sorarem ejus, que conquina sua suisset: 10 QUE HTIAM IMPETRASSE, si anno constitisce, non habuisse, jus Pontiscem priore, illa m causa dispensandi. Quirini, vol. 1. p. 235.

the Pope, but also that the Pope was ready to grant it, if it should be proved that he had no right to difpense in the former case. So that Clement VII. 23 well as Henry VIII, comes in for a share of this reproach; but Mr. Phillips cautiously omits the words EDOUBETIAM IMPETRASSE, and even had obtained bis request, though he translates all the other words round them. Perhaps he knew not how to believe the Pope would grant a dispensation in this case, if it should be proved that he had no right to dispense in a similar one. And to do justice to the Pope, I think Reginald, from whom the reproach first comes, was mistaken in so representing the case. There is a Dispensation mentioned by Lord Herbert, which, from some dispatches in our Archives, his Lordship thinks probable; on which I suppose this whole charge is founded: it fets forth that Henry had petitioned, that his marriage with his Brother's Widow, for which no canonical and valid dispensation had been obtained, might be made void, and he be permitted to marry with any other woman, though she were one who had been contracted to another, (provided the marriage had not been consummated) or related to him in the fecond or more distant degree of consanguinity, or in the first degree of affinity, whether by licit or illicit congress, except his Brother's Widow.\* Which petition

Nulla faltem canonica seu valida dispensatione desuper obtenta, ut cum quacunque alia meliere, etiam fi illa talis sit, que alias cum alio matrimonium contrazerir, (dummodo, illud carnali copula non consummaverit) etiam si tibi alias secundo vel remotiori consangishitatis, aut primo assinitatis gradu, ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratrie

petition the Pope granted, if the contract with Catherine was invalid and declared so to be. Thus the King in this petition to the Pope, does not pretend that he had no power to diffeense in the case of a Brother's Widow, but that the pretended dispensation of Tuling II. was invalid from some suspicions of forgery a and prays that the former marriage being fet afide as uncancinical, he might marry with any ausman elfe. although it flould happen that some canonical impediments were in the way. It ought to be observed, that so long as the King solicited his Divorce, as a point of Law, in the Pope's Court, he did not pretend to deny his power to dispense; but began his furt on a presumption of forgary in the supposed difpensation of Falius II; for though he believed the marriage null from the beginning, and which no difmenfation could authorife, yet he thought it would give less offence and trouble, if he could get it diffollood by the same power, by which it was at first contracted: but when, provoked by the Pope's delufive dealings for fear of the Emperour, he brought it before the Universities of Europe, as a Question in Divinity, then the Pope's power to dispense in such cafes was agitated.

The Dispensation referred to was dated 27 Det. 1527; so that the petition, upon which it was grounded, was made before Ann Bolen was known to be the intended Successor to the Queen; at a time when they were looking out for a match: and that they

fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam si cognatione spirituali vel legali sibi conjuncta extiterit...matrimonium licitè contrahere, et in eo siberè remanere, et ex ea prolem legitimam suscipere possis. Herb. Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 251.

they might not fearn to deny the Pope's power of diffe penfing, an ample dispensation was asked, not for a particular person, but for any Waman, although canonical impediments might intervene. Now, to represent the King denying the Pope a power to difpenfe with his marrying his Brother's Widow, and at the same instant asking him to dispense with his marrying his Concubine's Sifter; and the Pope as abfurdly granting fuch dispensation, provided it should be proved that he had no right to do it, is so extraordinary a behaviour, that it calls for a very extraordinary evidence to support it. And if that, and the reproach cast upon Ann Bolen's Sister have no other ground or evidence than this Dispensation, nothing more will be proved, than the rashness and malice of the first reporter, which was Reginald Pole & and who gives no proof of what he advances, in both cases, unless his reference to this Dispensation is intended to be one. This is one of those facts or circu cumstances of which no other documents are extant but in Pale's writings h.'

But fays Mr. Phillips, 'had this been flander, or even of doubtful report, it would have been une worthy and inconfishent with his character who remains the lates it.' How far it is inconfishent with his real character let others judge: nay Quirini, and our Biographer, admit of aggranations; Quirini acknowledging that in this place he exerted all the powers, not to fay the bitterness of his eloquence, to disparage the King's second marriage , or as Mr. Phillips translates him, 'where every aggravation, which regards this article, is set forth in all its iniquity,

Pref. p. xii. 1 P. 61. 2 Vol. 1. p. 236.

\* and bigmental with all the coloring that indignate from and eloquence can give . Both of them confelling that Fole put the worst confirmation that he could upon all circumstances of this marriage, which he so detested.

A specimen of these aggravations Mr. Phillips gives us, on this very affair; for to prove that Queeff Catharine was a virgin Widow, he afferts, That Arthur was but fourteen years old when he died .--Whereas he died in his fixteenth year, therefore of ubihity toknow his wife, being born 20th September, 1486? and died 2d April, 1502. 2dly. He urges his weak's ly conflitution at the time of marriage. - The decay of his conflitution began not to appear till the filtrovetide after his marriage, which was three months after it, and was occasioned by his too free use of the maririage bed. 2dly. That the Queen declared upon oath, that Arthur left her a maiden. It must indeed be difficult for us to contradict her in this cufe': yet we can produce (beside the evidence of those, who faw them bedded, and left them together by themfelves) her own Evidence; that is, the Breve, which was impetrated by the Queen; in which it is fet forth, that Arthur and Cutharine had been lawfully married, and had confirmmated their marriage.\* His 4th reason is; because Henry conselled to the Emperous, that he found her a Maid. When, of on what occasion, Henry confessed this, I recollect not;

1 P. 62.

أأراء والمؤورة وإرازا فالموطورات

Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxeritis, illuda; carnali copula consummaveritia. Breve quod impetratum est ad Reginæ instantiam. Herb. Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 239, 227.

therefore same fay nothing to it sobut, if no other dochments are expect of it, than, Pal's hare words, the Reader by this time is able to judge what credit is due to that when he is in a fit of aggrapating and beighte ening, and when indignation mixes his colors. Howeverto invalidate the gredit of witnelles which contradict: Pale's affirmations: above-mentioned, Mr. Phillips; fayer that here had been garbled chiefly -out of the Kinknen or, Creatures of the King or Mrs. Ann Bolon. " These witnesses were 1. The Marquis of Derfet and the Bishop of Ely, as to Arthur's able age. .: 2. The Duke of Suffelk for Arthur's decay three months after marriage, in . confequenen of it. And 3. The Pope, Catharine herself. or nestainly her Friends who procured the Breve, and the old Dutchela of Norfolk and Vice-Countels Fitzsusters, for the confummation. L. But , faye Mr. Phillips, ' had, it been a flander, it must have raised the clamor, not only of the Eugbilife, but of all foreigners against him. " This also is borrowed from Quiring With respect to the Englift was it not referred, not only by the King and Nation in general, but even by Pole's nearest relations and dearest Eriends? and has not the indignation continued from that day, to this, except in the reign of bis, Queen Mary, and among some seditious Writers fince, who are willing to be feduced by him? as to foreigners, they were strangers to these facts, and knew themionly by Pole's report: they therefore could not

E Some

be expected to clamor against slanders, which they

knew not to be fuch.

Some other mistakes and missepresentations with regard to Ann Bolen, by Mr. Phillips, must not pass unnoticed; and therefore they shall be thrown here, that all which relates to her may appear together.

She had been educated, says he, at the Court of France, which was then a school of Gallantry. and had returned to England a great proficient in "it." What does he mean by being a great proficient in the school of Gallantry, before the left France? is it not to infinuate a suspicion of looseness of behaviour, of which he had thought it just to acquit her before Henry's passion for her? This is a Legerdemain in the art of writing, to infinuate a crime while you deny it. He tells us, in the fame page, that ' fhe had imbibed the doctrines of Calvin ?.' How came the to know them ! Caloin Rudied Civil Law under Alciate at Bourges, which Mr. Phillips knows, from Cardinal Quirini, could not be before the year 1529 when Alciate left Avignon to teach at Bourges\*. After that he taught Greek; and it was still later, when he quitted these studies for If her return to England was, as I flippose it, in the year 1525, Calvin, who was born in 1500, could be but fifteen or fixteen years old; when the left France; that he should have broached new doctrines, and the imbibed them by that time, is not credible. That the might be raught to diflike some of the Popish corruptions, by James Lefeure, is not improbable; a learned man, who, although he'op'

• P. 123. P P. 82.

Imo verò etindem (Alciatum) jam anno 1729 Avenionem reliquisse, et Biturigas commigrasse. Quirini, vol. 1. p. 273.

posed many Popisti ertors; was no disciple, but rather the Forerunner of Luther: he never left the commuhion of the Roman Church; but for teaching that Christ was our only Mediator, and that the Saints could not help us, was perfecuted by the French anothes, and greatly effeemed for his piety and learning by the Dutchess of Alencon, and by her protected at this very time, when Ann Bolen was in her service, Which left it to return to England 9. Bur, fays Mr. \* Phillips, on coming to England, the secretly favored the Tenets of Luther." The adversitive Bur implies, that the changed Galvinifm, which the tould not be acquainted with, for Lutheranism, of which there is no Evidence; difgusted with some Popish errors and superstitions, as above accounted for, she might be. Having made her a Calvinist against Tense, he now against charity makes her a Lutheran, for this shrewd reason, the latitude which the Patriarch of that sect allowed his followers, and which he afterwards extended to license Polygamy in favor of the Landgrave of Heffe, could not but appear very \* commodious to the general tenor of her life. If the latitude, which Mr. Phillips here reproaches, means the chaste marriage, which Luther recommended, in preference to an unclean and licentious celibacy, it is no dishonor to the lady that she approved it by the general tenor of her life: And as to Pdligamy, the had no occasion to fly to the Patriarch of the Lutherans for a licence, fince the Patriarch of the West, the Bishop of Rome, voluntarily, of his own motion; actually offered the King, in favor of Anne Bolari

<sup>4</sup> Gerdeni Hiff. Reform. tom. iv. p. 16. . p. 124,

len herself, a licence of that kind, \* which was rejected.

Then follow near two pages of ribaldry, scandal, and inconfishence: after which he concludes her character with this Note; Stowe, Fuller, Burnet, Calblier, Ethard and our Historians in general, feem to agree, in this character of Ann Bolon, as each of them relates some of the particulars here e mentioned '.' If this Biographer were to write the Life of the chaste Susanna, would he think he did the part of a just Historian should he report, that she was a fair woman and one that feared the Lord: but that fhe had been repetedly guilty of Adultery with a certain young man, once by accompanying with him under a mastick-tree, and once under a holm-tree? And then in proof of this representation fay, that the Author of the History of Susanna, and the Two Elders in general feem to agree in this character of her, as each of them relates some of the particulars here mentioned? The greatest virtue cannot escape such arts of defamation. In the next Note he observes, · a Letter to the King, supposed to have been written by her, when the was in the Tower, is cited by our Historians; and given by Mr. Addison as an instance of that eloquence, by which innocence in diffress expresses itself. But she, who was so well acquainted with the King's cruel and unrelenting temper,

" " " " 125.

Superioribus Alebus, Pontifex Aereto, webuti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusi modi, Concedi posse vestræ Majestati, ut duas uxores habeat. Epist. Greg. Cassalis ad Regem Henricum. 18 Sept. 1530. Herbert's Hist. of H. S. p. 302.

temper, and yet declares on the scaffold, that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince, might, with as little regard to veracity perfift in the denial of a crime, of which she stood convict-6 ed.' If her gentleness and meekness forgave the King fo great an injury, and was defirous to turn the Spectators thoughts from the particular cruelty of her death to what she believed was his general disposition; fuch more than ordinary charity did not deserve so perverse an interpretation. The reach of Shakespear's powerful genius, when he would represent the amiable virtues of the injured Desdemona, to excite pity in the Spectators for her, and indignation at the revilers of fuffering innocence, could not imagine any thing more affecting, than to represent her in fimilar circumstances to those of . Ann Balen.

Defd. A guiltless death I die.

Emil. O who has done this deed?

Defd. Nobody, I myself. Farewel. [she dies].

Commend me to my kind Lord. O farewel.

Othell. Why how should she be murdered?

Emil. Alass, who knows?

Othell. You heard her say herself, it was not I.

Emil. She said so, I must needs report a truth.

Othell. She's like a lyar gone to burn in Hell:

'Twas I that kill'd her.

Emil. O the more Angel she;

And you the blacker Divel.

Othello, Act V.

If Mr. Phillips thinks it impossible, that she could imagine the King had any elemency or gentleness in his nature, I refer him to his Idol Reginald, who attests the same thing. He tells the King, that the E 3

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first years of his reign were illustrious for plety, justice, CLEMENCY, and liberality. \* In his letter to Cardinal Rodolphus, he describes him as naturally religious, modest, KIND, liberal, and CLEMENT.+ And this was his real opinion, as we may judge from his friend: Contareni; who probably took his impression of the King from his conversation with Pole: Good God ! fays he, how is it possible that a disposition so MPLD. fo GENTLE, which feemed formed by nature to deserve well of mankind, should be so altered !? That he was altered with respect to Ann Bolen her death declared; but overlooking her particular injury, the recommends him to his people by his general temper; which Pole and Contareni agree, with her, was gentle and merciful; and the would agree, with them, that it was of late much altered. Thus her testimony is true and confistent; and from one in her circumstances, just falling undeferredly by her Husband's hand, a further testimony of her own truly Christian disposition. While Pole, disappointed in a favorite **schema** 

Quid enim non promittebant præclaræ illæ virtutes, quæ primis annis principatus tui in te maximè elucebant? in quibus primum pietas, quæ una omnium aliarum et totius humanæ felicitatis quasi fundamentum est, se præserebat, cui adjunctæ erant, quæ maximè in osulis hominum eminere solent, justitia, clementia, liberalitas. De Unit. Eccles Lib. iii.

† Cum ipsum natura in religionem propensissimum, institutorumq; majorum suorum maxime observantem, modestum, benignum, sua sponte liberalem, et cle-wentem. Rol. Ep. ad Rodolps. Cardinalem, in Quirini

yol. 2. p. 18.

Qui fieri potost, per Deum immortalem! ut animus ille tam mitis, tam mansuetus, ut ad bene merendum de hominum genere à natura factus esse videtur, sit adea immutatus. Quirini, vol. 2, p. 20,

scheme, cannot restrain his resentment, but pours it forth in the soulest language, inconsistent with truth and with himself; for, in contradiction to the character he had before given, which was that of his cool and unprejudiced heart, in his apology to the Emperour, he says, amongst the various instances of justice, liberality, and other virtues, which resonanced the laudable part of his life, he was never known to have done one single Act of Clemancy. Socontrary are (not the colors only, but) the lines and seatures of his Portraits, even in the same subject, when affection or indignation guides the pencil!

But it is time to return to Mr. Pole afts Pole's opiat Avignon. Digressions on Laura's worte and Supremacy.

But it is time to return to Mr. Pole afts Pole's opiat Avignon. Digressions on Laura's Civil Law, which the bare mention of that City occasioned, and which again are borrowed from Quirini, I pass over as nothing

relative to our Subject.

The climate of Avignon not agreeing with Reginald, he proceded to Padua, where, and at Venice, he chiefly refided. His Italian acquaintance appear to have been men of learning, dignity, and reputation; nor would I wish to detract from the praises, which they, who best knew him, give of Pole's literary accomplishments, and Gentleman-like behaviour.

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4. To the passage produced by Mr. Phillips may be added, from the same Apology, crudelitas non tam videtur à Sathana infusa, quam in natura ejus inata. Apolog. ad Czesarem. §. xix.

The Rishop of Verma espouled the King's cause at Rome: Flaminius in many points thought with the Projestants; Caraffe also, at that time remarkable for his strict life, though afterwards he was a most furious, Papelin, was a beloved Intimate; and from that intimacy was so perfuaded that Pole himself was inclined to the Protestants, that he could never conquer his suspicion: And among his acquaintance, not mentioned by Mr. Phillips, was Peter Martyr, a celebrated Teacher amongst the Lutherans. All these were Pole's acquaintance at this time in Italy; not to mention, Thomas Starkey an Englishman, who also greatly favored the King's procedings. With these, men of virtue and learning, although most of them attached to the Pope's interest, he was foon sensible of a scandalous abuse of power in the Bishop of Rome and his Court, and that many corruptions had crept into the Church; and he appears to have been less determined in his mind against the King's procedings than before. Henry was divorced, the Princess illegitimated, the Pope's authority disclaimed, no profpect of remedy appeared, and the continued bounty of his master gave him assurance of his continued regard; opposition to him, under these circumstances, might appear fruitless and imprudent: indeed many false reports of the King's having altered the Doctrines of the Church seem to have kept him in some suspence. His intimate friend Thomas Starkey, left him in Italy, and returned to England toward the end of the year 1534, and was introduced to Court by Cromwell. From him the King was defirous to know Pole's real. fentiments in both points, the marriage and supremacy; that he might be certain whether his annual. mumunificence was bestowed on a friend of an eveny. The Biographer, with as little truth as charity, repreferits the King as entertaining no real doubt of Pole's fentiments: but that he chose this should be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he ever after persecuted him and his Family. Pole was either undetermined, or had kept his opinions to himself with so much reserve, that Starker could go no further than to tell the King, that he was affured Mr. Pole's Learning and Judgment were so much improved by the good use of his Grace's liberality, that he would gladly concur with his majesty and Parliament. The King, who imagined he had reason to doubt of this, and yet was defirous to favor Reginald, if he himself would permit him, ordered Starkey to write to him for his opinion on these two points, fimply, with the effectual reasons that determined · him; without wandering into political reasons of of fuccesses or dangerous effects that might ensue? To this purpose Starkey wrote 9th April, 1535; telling him, that the Secretary knew the King's difpofition to ferve him, and would be forry that his virtues should, as in a stream, vanish away among strangers. That as for the rumours which had obtained abroad, when he left him, of the King's having forfaken the Scriptures, the Sacraments, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church, he found they were all false and malicious reports. Pole anfwered from Venice, that he would write his mind upon the Subjects defired: and in a Letter dated 3d of June, ' he more at large opened his affection and will to serve the King in the case required, and pro-" mised that in doing it, he would weigh Scripture, flaying apart all authority of men.' In this dispofition

fition we must suppose he began to satisfy the King. But some executions, which reasons of state perfunded to be necessary, at that time happening aanong Pole's particular Friends, Webster professed of Share, and Reynolds of Sion, as well as Fifter Bifton of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, men famous for sheir learning and piety; Starkey apprehensive that these would be maliciously aggravated in Italy, and so prejudice Pole's mind against the King, wrote to him; fuggesting to his consideration, that with regard to Temporals, the Supremacy could not belong to iniritual men, Christ declaring that his kingdom was not of this world: and that even a spiritual Supremacy in the Bishop of Rome, with respect to other Churches, was introduced only by human wifdom, in remedium schismatis, to heal schism, and grew by degrees by the patience of Princes, et tacite ausdem Christiani populi consensu, and a kind of tacit confent of the people; that human wildom might again take it away, when they found, that instead of preserving Christian Unity, it had been the greatest means of destroying it: and that therefore it was better to cut up such a root of sedition in a Christian Polity, than to let it remain to the continual destrucation of our posterity. As to the other point, the King's first marriage, it was contrary to the Law of God, rooted in the Law of Nature, and by General Councils often declared: and that the Pope's power extendeth not to break fuch laws rooted in nature, and to dispense with laws made in General Councils, Catholick laws, and universal grounds made for the confervation of Christian life, in all Christ's Church. And although, by an abuse of power he had done so, vet it would be necessary to shew, that ever such power

power was given and translated to the Pope, by any law written in General Councils. As to the Chertreux Monks, with his friends Webster and Revnolds being put to death, to prevent or remedy, the prejudices rifing from falle reports, he informs him, that in the last Parliament an Act was made, that all the King's subjects should, under pain of treason, revoke the Pope's supremacy: to which Act, as the rest of our nation with one consent did agree, fo did these Monks, three Priors and Reynolds of Sion. The which now of late, contrary to their oath, and also to the Act, returned to their old on hedience; affirming the same to be of necessity to Salvation. That he (Starkey) had attended Reynolds. in whom he found neither strong reason nor good learning to maintain his purpose. That nothing could avale but that he would in that opinion, as disobedient person to the King's laws, suffer death; with the other of the same minds, fore they themselves were the cause, for they sought their own death, of which no man can be justly accufed but they themselves, ",

The event proved as Storkey seared.

3. 8. Viena it would: the execution of his friends of Pole's Treating (May 4.) the Priors and Monks, who is Beclesiastica. were the Pope's chief supporters, examperated his Holines; who, in affront to the King, sent a Cardinal's Hat to Fifter, then is prison for treason; and the King, in resentment of that indiscrete affront, cut off the head for which it was designed, in June; and in July Sir Thomas More for

<sup>..</sup> Strype's Mem. vol. 1. p. 238.

for too obstinately denying the King's Supremacy suffered the same fate. This inflamed the Pope and his Friends; and Pole, too lusceptible of the impreffion given by those he conversed with, changed his mind. The refentment at Rome, and their attempts to stir up the Princes of Europe to chastife Henry, opened again to Reginala's views the hopes of reinstating Mary in her rights. Whatever promise he had given of writing agreeably to the King's mind. he now altered his whole plan, and enlarged his intended Letter into a Treatise on Ecclesiastical Unity: which he began in Sept. 1535, and did not finish till after the deaths of two Queens, Catherine of Aragon and Ann Bolen. He began with what was his main point, the proofs for the Pope's Supremacy, which Book is ranged in the fecond place: then he attacked the King's Supremacy, which now stands as the first book: in his third, he launches out into extravapant abuses on the late executions, and the injuries which Henry had done to Catherine and her Daughter; and the death of Ann Bolen happening at that time, gave him an opportunity of inveighing bitterly against her: in this part he is very animated, but scurrilous to a degree most unworthy an accomplished Church-man, and a Nobleman of Great Britain; I shall pick a few of his flowers out of this fingle book. He calls the King profane and impious—barbarous and Turklike-more barbarous and cruel than ever man was-worse than Nero and Domition-more merciless than pyrates—a greater enemy than the Turk-not the least spark of any virtue left-one of those giants that waged war against Heaven-nay worse than the giants, they were human in their form

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and nature, he is rather like the triple-headed Gereberus—at least but one head foort of him—diverted of humanity, a wild beaft—Head of the Divel's Church—inftructed by the Divel—the Divel himfelf—more impudent than the Divel. Then in his fourth book protests all proceded from love and affection to the King; assures him that he could and would deliver him out of all his troubles, if he would follow his advice, repent of his Apostacy and submit to the Pope. The scope at which he aimed, and the means to affect it, he openly avows in this Book: 'What is it, Prince, that I am now attempting? what else but to secure the succession of your lawful daughter? that very succession, to perpetuate which, your Father did so many injuries to my family.' This was the scope: the means were.

\* Prophane et impie Dux-Turcicum plane et barbarum-hoc tantum supplicium Cujus, quantumvis barbari et crudelis hominis, animo non abunde satisfecisset? tuo quidem non satisfecit, multò tu crudelior quam ullus Pirata-novus hostis urget multo quam Turca infestior-ne scintillam quidem justitiæ, aut ullius virthtis reliquam in te esse-antiquam illam fabulam' de gigantibus verissimè nunc narrari posse-qui (gigantes) humana et figura et natura fuisse memorantur, ut verisimile de iis non videatur tam rabidam crudelitatem animis potuisse concipere - Cerbero potius tricipiti apud Inferos hæc tanta immanitas conveniret-Regem bicipitem esse, uno tantum capite à Cerbero, qui triceps fingatur, vinci-fera, amisso humanitatis sensu-quid superelt, fi te caput ecclesiæ constituerunt, nisi ut malignantium Fcclesiæ constituerint, quæ eadem Sathanæ Ecclesia appellatur-fic tu Sathanæ artibus instructus-cum nemine nisi cum Sathanâ conferri possisaudacior quam ipse Sathanas omnibus videare-Pol. de Unitate Eccles. Lib. iii.

were to employ him as " the most westell and not instrument to restore him, and to enable him to do its he defires the King to follow the enample of the Emperour Theodofiat, who promised willings If to fubmit to any pains or penalties that his Billion Ambrose should enjoin. What sufficients recomme pence tould the King make to fo affectionate and wheful a Friend? what would he not give to be delivered from the impending ruin, which Pole to tragically describes, and which he himself, he says, if others were wanting, would take care to bring over. his head? what satisfaction might the Pope and Emperour demand as the condition of their reconciliation? the herrors of guilt which he so inflamingly aggravates, the dangers and threatnings which he fo loudly fulminates, are all intended to drive him to. accept of his intercession, and to comply with the terms he should procure for him\*.

This

\* Nam quid Ego nunc ago, Princeps, quid aliud, nili legitima tua filia fuccessionem defendo? illam ipfam successionem Ego defendo, quam ut perpetueret, pater tuus tot damna dedit, tot et tam gravia vulnera familia nostræ intulit. Lib. hi.—me vero si casus aliquis sustulisset, utilissemum et aptissimum tibi ad hæe omnia récuperanda infrumentum défiderarés. Lib. iv.-Theodosius Romani Imperii tum florentissimi moderator...unius hominis (Ambrofii) castigationi necesse habuerit cedere...flatim ad episcopum cum mandatis misit, qui suis verbis dicerent se in ejus potestatem suturum : panam sceleri statueret qua iple videretur : nikil tam grave statui posse, quod non ipse libenter subiret; id quod sanè reipsa posten præstitit... O magnum pænitentiæ exemplum, et a Te, Princeps, maximo imitandum. Libr. iv .-- qui autem meus fuerit in scribendo animus...vel ex eo uno Libro [nimirum quarto] facile perspicere posit. Poli Ep. ad Edv. VI. §. 30.

An hæc Cæsar ron videt? an si non videret, deessent qui dicerent? an Ego ipse, si cæteri cunctarentur, id facere

This infolence and abuse were so illiberal and blame worthy, that his Priends in England, even those who adhered to Popish superstitions, such as Tonstal and Starky, were aftonished at it. In the reading whereof, fays Starky, although we all loved you entirely, vet your corrupt judgment in the matter, and your detestable unkindness to your Prince, so offended f us all, that many times our ears abhorred the hearing-comparing the head with the end, and considering the whole circumstance of the matter. there appeared to me the most frantick judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life; for herein lies the fum of your book, because we are flipped from the obedience of Rome, you judge us to be separated from the Unity of the Church. and to be no more members of the Catholick Body, but to be worse than Turks and Saracens. Wherefore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him to repentance, more vehemently than ever did Gregory against the Apostate Julian, or any other against fuch tyrants as perfecuted Christ's doctrine. Upon this point you have pretended, all that sharpness of your Oration to fpring of love. Yet be you affured, none are so blinded, but to judge it a foolish love, which bringeth forth against a Prince, such a bitter, sharp, and slanderous Oration-But I find the Proverb of the Greek to be true, every man, draws much of the manners and judgments of those with whom he is gladly conversant. The Italian judge

Stere dubiterent?—Er se omnia milik porieule proponez fentur, nunquamu quiescerem, udones ad sum persenti fent, as in luca vocto apad sum propon parama: Lite; iv.

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such entering which by the Primary of Aimshadt beda frimes upholden. I was a such as all and graden

Dobn his Italian friends, Contareni and Prail, whole friendship and conversation he preferred to his Kings his Country, and his Relations; whole affiliance he begged in this work, and to whom he communicated the parts as he wrote them, both agreed in blaming him for writing too sharply and bitterly against his Nay he himself was so convinced of the impropriety of it, that he hefitated much whether he should send the Treatise after he had taken eight or nine months trouble to compose it : nor did be veni ture to do it at last, till he enthusiastically interpres ted, as figns of the Divine Will, fome incidents, which should rather have diffusded him to one was! miffing the sheets which contained the most offentive part: which might have suggested the impropriety of fending them; but the truth was, he had arif-The other was, the deaths of both Queens and the King's marriage with Jane Seymour : which might convince him that all his rude declamation relating to the Divorce was needless. What determined him to write he acknowledges was not reason but indignation; making the deaths of his friends the ftrongest argument that convinced him.

<sup>\*</sup> Idq; flatim elegi; non tam quidem perfuafile illis rationibus, que multe et graves crant, quas vel est feriptis aliorum, vel ex mea meditatione, cum multum de hac causa cogitarem, ante didiceram, quam ex into illo

After callache fogs, he was empilling to write, but that the King's commands obliged him ; and that nothing but his commands could have forced him to break his Alence. + Yet he sells Contoreni, that he suilingly hore the talk of writing imposed upon him. be those, whom he knows not whether he should have obeyed, had they enjoined him filence I Mr. Philhips represents this work as begun before he received the King's orders 2; contrary to what Pale afferts, that those orders set him to work. Now Starky's Letter, conveying those orders, was dated in April. \$535; in the June following, Pole promises to write his opinion agreeably to the King's wish: Soon after he hears of the executions, which determines him to change his plan; and purposely waiting till the frammer heats were over, on the 24th Sep. or viii. Kal. Offiche fays he had begun it twenty days. This mistake in Mrg Phillips, in representing Pole as having begun his work before the King's orders to

\* P. 112, 113.

illo argumento, quod in fanguino talium virorum, quad digito. Dei feripaum contemplahar. Apolog. ad Carol.

+ Quid ergo illud est quod me invitum ad scribendum compellit? prima vere scausa que me impulit, the scriberem, suit illius imperium, contra quem scribendum est.—Neque verò ab hoc silentio, cujusquam me anctoritas aut hortatio abducere potuit, ...antequam Regis imperium ad scribendom me vocaret. Apolog. ad Carol. 6. ii.

1.3. Ego varo hanc mihi necessiratem scribendi ab illis imponi libenter sero, qui etiamsi tacere juberent, ut nunc quidem res sunt, neccio an obtemporarem. Pol. Epist. Quirini vol. ii. Ep. 28.

write, was probably owing to his inattentively following Lairini, to a slip of whose pen, saying, the first months of the year 1535, instead of the last, I impute the mistake; for Luirini quotes the letter, vili Kal. Ost. which contradicts him if he meant to say prioridus mensibus. But Mr. Phillips, with all his pretence to accuracy, even in trisles, is too negligent of his dates in material points.

But whenever begun or finished; exhose whom paffion or prejudice has not prevented from examiining the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulness with which they are employed, have entertained the fame opinion of the Performance; which the Author, notwithstanding his modesty when he speaks of himself, has expressed in the following words; It has been my endeavour, favs her to ascertain the primacy and indefectibility of the · See of Rome, not only against all those who have hitherto denied it, but against all suture opposers; who may be various and in great numbers." Now, whatever Pole meant, he certainly in that passage says not a word of primacy or indefectibility, but only of Peter's thip; and Mr. Phillips might have informed us, that he conceived this high idea of his Performance, when he had spent only twenty days on a work, that employed him eight or nine months. This Biographer also informs us, that & Gordiners Tonftal, and Sampjon attacked the dogmatical part of the work." Yet Pole himself relates, 4 that when he received the King's orders to write, they were enforced by the treatifes of Sampson and Gardi-A) o ner.

ner.' So that they attacked the dogmatical part of his work before he wrote it. Which indeed they might as well do, as Pole answer all future opposers in the work itself.

But even an adversary, Pergerius (once the Pope's Legate, but who afterwards embraced Lutheranism,) allows, that i he has brought together with great eloquence, whatever had been soutely, craftily, of fabtlly written in defence of the Papacy.'d I, for my part, agree with Vergerius; a great sharpness of fpirit, a crafty representation of facts, and subtle forhisms borrowed from others, are very rhetorically dreffed out by him: but why did Mr. Phillips make a full stop here, and grudge us the close of the period? 'all this oratory of Pole's, Vergerius tells us, was directed by fraud and malice, not to clear the truth, but to disguise falshood.\* Bishop Burnet therefore appears not to have been too bold an affertor; when he faid this work was more effected for the high quality of the Author, than for found reasoning. Having carefully read the Treatise, in my opinion, the childish wit, the false facts, the inconclusive and inconfishent arguments in the two first Books, which are to disprove the King's and maintain the Pope's Supremacy, are fuch, that as the Protestants were not afraid to publish it at first from concealed copies among his friends, so neither will they now, when the work is become scarce. be affaid to see it republished. In his interpreting F 2 scripture.

<sup>2</sup> P. 112. P. 134, Note. Hift. Ref. p. 134,

Non ad veritatis lucem, fed ad tegumentum mendaciorum, per summam fraudem atq; malitiam.

scripture, through the work, he is an inflance of that kind of Commentators, censured by the Author of The Rudy of facred literature fully stated and considered; 'who spin out the plainness and sincerity of the Text into small threads and subtleties, which are, indeed, of wonderful fineness for the work, but of little substance and profit...who turn reality into a shadow, and truth into a dream.

As to Fisher and More, I believe there is no Protestant who does not grieve, as Lord Herbert tells us the King himself did, both inwardly and publickly, at the executions necessary in that struggle for liberty with the Pope, that any reasons of state should make it expedient to bring those men to the scaffold: and render meffectual the compassionate recommendation of them to mercy, by Cranmer, upon their own terms. But Fifter had shewn an obstinate prejudice and malice against the King's procedings, in the credit and encouragement he gave to that infamous imposture of the Maid of Kent; and More, as well as he, had before tasted his Majesty's clemency in the forgiveness of their concealment of it: yet they again provoked him by refusing to acknowledge him Supreme in his own dominions, though the denial was made High Treafon. The impostures, seditions, and machinations of the Pope and his adherents, at that time, rendered a fecond mercy too dangerous. Fisher's prejudices arose from the case of the marriage of Queen Catherine, which he first persuaded; and although he acknowledged the majority of Writers were against him, yet he would never submit to their opinions. This made him a passionate opposer, not only of the King's procedings, but of all reformation, though reasona-

ble and falutary, as Mr. Phillips acknowledges; under pretence, of being ill-timed innovations, and progeding from want of faith, and tending to produce fuch evils as the Bohemians had experienced: which Mr. Phillips represents, as if ' like another Micajah, he had foretold the evils which were to involve himself and others; which, when the offence it gave made it moved to fend him to the Tower, he defended with his usual intrepidity, and nothing more was faid on the subject.' What could induce our Biographer to fallify in a piece of History to well known? The fact was, the House of Commons referted the reflection he had made on them; and by their Speaker, attended by thirty of their members, demanded of the King reparation from the Bishop of Rechester. His intrepidity was forced to retract, and explane the charge of want of Faith, as meant of the Bohemians, and not of them. More's prejudices grew from his partial knowledge of Divinity; he was an excellent Classick, had studied the Civil and Canon Law, and the Pope's Deerees he was well acquainted with: but not carrying his enquiries beyond the times of the corruptions of the Church, he took his idea of her discipline and machine from the diffuife which ambition and fuexercition had thrown over her. This attention to Forms and Rituals, without regarding the humility and henevolence of the Gospel, made him so cruel a gesticutor, that he gloried in his fevenity against Heretiglet. 4. His opinion was, I believe, according to not say the said to the said of the said of the said of the 2 P. 70. Jan of the Kings

Puribus, homicidis, et hæreticis molestus.

the light he had: how far his ignorance was blameable, in fore confcientiae, I do not determine; but his opinion against an Act of Parliament, so obstinately persisted in, could not at that time go unpunished. I wish Mr. Phillips had permitted me to have passed over the infirmities of these two great Men.

The purpose of this Treatise is represented by Pole as a pure act of friendship to the King, warning him of his spiritual danger in a separation from the Church, by leaving the Pope's Supremacy, and assuming it to himself in his own dominions : and of his political danger, from the Emperour, by affronting his Aunt; and from his people, by illegitimating the Princess whom they loved and wished for: and directing him to his fafety, by being reconciled to the Church of Rome. So it is fet forth in the Treatife itself, in Pole's English Letter that accompanied it to the King, and in his Answer to Touffel's in which last he declares his difinterested zeal for the King's welfare to be fuch, that ' though the King fhould be forfaken by all, who, either through hope or fear combine to betray him, there will yet \* be one superior to the influence of such motives 4. As to the beneficial circumstances of life, with which my filence and passive behaviour was to be purchased, my contempt of them, in comparison of my zeal for his Majesty, shall be the setum I make him for my education." Now, if this teal was real; and he indeed thought the dangers to hear great as he painted them, we can only pity him as weak mistaken man, whose fault lay in his judgment, and not in his will: but if we discover that he he had some selfish views, which, if unsatisfied, would make him uneasy at the King's escaping those dangers; and if, when he sound them languid and just vanishing into nothing, he used all his arts and industry to excite and encourage them, his pretended concern for the King's spiritual and temporal welfare must appear as ridiculous as hypocritical, and place Mr. Phillips's Hero in a very contemptible light.

If his wish and endeavour were folely for the King's sake, without any private views or interests of his own, to reconcile the King to the church, from which, as he supposed, he had separated himself. " and out of which was no safety; then Henry's reconciliation with the Pope and the Church must have made him easy.—No such matter, if attempted without him. For when, at this time, a reconcilian tion was actually on foot, the French King mediating, and Paul III. fignifying to the King by Caffalis, that he himself stood well affected toward it, having always done his Majesty good offices, and had digged Clement VII. to right him in his divorce; and 24-Benonia (being then Cardinal) perfuaded the Emperous to suffer it with patience.h Reginald was startled at this news, and writes to his friend Privile. If any such thing is in agitation, take care, I defire you, that I may know it; for by what mean fower it may be attempted, perhaps it may be of fome confequence, that I should be made acquainted with the particulars, before it he completed and so much for my private interest, as the honor

h Herb. Hift. p. 387.

Does this look as if he had no private intending that had affairs, and that his whole folicitude was for the King's welfare?

Perhaps his gratitude to the Memory of Queen Catherine was such, that he even wished the King in danger of damnation in order to procute forme reparation. No; he represents her, and her honory as of very little weight in this affair; and her honory as of very little weight in this affair; and hearing that her death had prevented the King's excommunication, he is very angry that for inconsiderable a life should obstruct that measure; buth was his gratitude to Catherine, such his zeal for the spiritual welfare of the King! yet, when sent into Floridar's as Legate, and from thence, if expedient, into Engaland, where the Pope offered to prepare for his revenue.

Rumor hic est, Cassalium, fratrem Protonotarii, qui, hic Regis Anglize Legatus suit mandata à Rege ad Pontificem habere sut existimatur) de reconciliatione; hoc enim audio Gallum urgere. Si aliquid ejusmodi sit; sac, rogo, ut sciam; quocunque enim modo id nunc tentetur, fortasse non esser inutile me exinde sieni certiquem, antequam res componatur. Pol. Epist. ad Priolum, Numb. xxvi. p. 437.

And again, Hic verd rumor ille magis increbescit de reconciliatione Regis cum Pontifice, vel potius cum Pontificatu.—Hoc verd—cupio curari, ut si fieri posset, antequam res componeretur, mihi occasio, tempus, vel spatium daretur meam sententiam explicandi in its rebus, quae non tam ad meam aliquam ut litatem speciant, quam ad honorem Pontificis, et utilitatem sortasse majorem—Roclesse pertinent. Pol. Ep. Priolo. Numb. xxvii.

‡ Ego verd ex quibusdam literis Neapoli scriptis.

† Ego verd ex quibusdam literis Neapoli scriptis, hodiè intellexi, si Regina, Cæsaris amita, non obiisset, jampridem in Regem anathema exiisset. Quid orgo? ex unins malieris animula res ecclesse pendere debena?

[ %]

ception by excommunicating the King, and discharging his Subjects of their allegiance, fearing less this might prevent his passage into England, or endanger him when there, he begged the Pope to suspend the sentence awhile: and then boasts to Gromwell of this suspension of the censure as obtained by him in respect to the King. Though at the same time his doubling spirit was conscious now earnestly he had wished and solicited for the censure before: but he had the ant of glossing, and the meanness to use it.

. Of the fame fabrick was his zeal for his political welfared The Emperour's referement in his Aunt's dause in as one of the dangers from which Pole pretends he mae anxious to deliver his King: yet when he heards on the death of Catharine, that the Emperousl and the King were about renewing their old league of amity, instead of rejoicing at the prospect of his Master's escaping that danger, he says, it is scarcely to be believed how deeply cut to the heart he was at that report, as his projected scheme of accommodation would be difappointed, and his own fination be worfe than ever.\* The Emperour was one of his rods, with which he hoped to have scourged the King into his measures; and, to have this rod inseched out of his hand, gave him this incredible .

14. Et tamen quæ nuper ad me erant perlata de benigno quodam Cæsaris responso oratori Anglia, cum nomina Regis peteret, rehovandam antiquam amiuitiams quod minime convenire his temporibus videbatur, et potius ad augenda quam diminuenda nostra mala spectare, ita animum menm perculerunt, ut---vix credas quam intimis sensibus sum commotus, cum illa audirem, quæ ad toltenda remedia spectare videbantur. Epis. Poli ad Priolum. Numb. xxix.

sicil e dist -

credible uncaliness. So that it was not the King's danger from the Emperour, but his being freed from that danger which gave him concern. As, for the civil differtions at home, which he likewise deployed, and from which he pretended to be desirous of rescuing the King; these, we shall see presently, he undertook a commission to encourage and support; and when abated by a deseat, he folicited for an extraordinary supply of money from the Pope to rekindle again. Thus he has himself convinced us that all his pretences were false.

But it may be asked, what was his real motive? for a view to the crown by a marriage with the Princess appears now less credible, as the act for her illegitimacy was pask, the King married again to his third wife, and the was with child a if the Issue was a Son, the Princes structures on must be unevertionar bly, over .. Notwithstanding this, his hopes were not over, as he manifested by a solicitude and ouriosity, more than became a man who thought himself unconcerned, anxiously enquiring about the probable refult of Jane Sepmour's pregnancy. For in the beginning of the next year his fervant Michael Threemorton was very inquisitive, whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Phylicians to bear a Man-child or a Female; which made the intentions of the Cardinal more suspected. This fact Lord Herbert relates from our Records. This sufficiently shews how mistaken or prejudiced Manutius was, in what he fays of Reginald, ' that his mind was pure from all AMBITION and MALEVOLENCE, and that his countenance and discourse were a <sup>r</sup> perpetual

Hift. p. 425.

f perpetual index of the candor and uprightness of his mind.'

And the pattern which he copied in this Treatife discovers the Spirit with which he wrote it. The pattern he proposed to himself to imitate, was that of the Arch-Rebel Thomas Becket: of this fact Cardinal Quirini informs us; but it is an information. which Mr. Phillips, who occasionally borrows very liberally from him, has suppressed. By this it appears that Pole himself was a Copyost, as well as his Biographer. In that most weighty cause, says he, -Pole must be supposed to have in view the example of St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury; and that his best sentiments were taken out of his Epittles to the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and Henry II. He fays, that there are a great number of passages, which Revinald from to have transcribed from those Epistles.\* The men indeed were not alike; Becket was bold and imperious, Pole mild and gentle; but engaged in a like cause, into which Pride had impelled one, and ambition the other, both seemed animated with the fame fpirit: though it is probable, if Pole rifes higher than his own timidity would have natu-

## \* Pbill. p. 138.

Porrò in ea gravissima causa, qua de Regis Henricrialite, et Britanniz religione agebatur, ob oculos in primis habuisse censendus est Polos, Sancti Thoma, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, exemplum, et ex hujus literis seu ad Alexandrum III. seu ad Cardinales, et Episcopos, seu ad Henricum II. Angliz Regem,---prz-fantissimos seusus transisse--sexcenta sunt loca in iis S. Thoma Epistolis, quos Polus exscripsisse visus est. Quirisi, vol. i. p. 314.

rally fuffered, he was buoyed up with the bladders that he borrowed from Beket.

The confequences from this Trea-... 9. Polocali tife in England and Hall, were fuch led to Rome, as might be foreseen, tesentment from afift in forming as might be foreigen; references from a plan of Refor- Henry and approbation from the Pope, who had been informed by Cardinar Contarent of the whole. Poles zeal for Rome had ruined him with his mafter, and thrown him entirely into the Pope's arms; and the same zeal, with his High-birth, connections and correspondence with England made him a fit instrument to be employed to give information, and affift in the execution of fuch measures as should be thought expedient for the reduction of that Kingdom. And the Pope having promifed to call a General Council for reformation of the Church, funmoned feveral learned men to Rome to draw up the points which needled to be reformed. Among these he summoned Pole to represent England, of whose good mind he was fufficiently fecure. A copy of this Summons he fent to the King, by Mellengers that were then going with other dispatches. He waited some weeks for an answer to these, which overtook him at Verona. Cranwell's Letters commanded him with threats not to procede: but ' the other letters, he fays, were eloquent indeed, being from the Counters of Sa-· liftury, his Mother, and his Brother the Lord . Montague, in which they entreated him by all the ties of duty and affection to delift from a step which was fo displeasing to the King; and if he perwillow in its they would renounce all friendfhip and Connexion's

Sundandexida with bim. [1] These remonstrances striggered him, he gave up all thoughts of going to Rome, not doubting but the Pope would admit of his excuse. But his Companions, Caraffa, and the Bishop of Kerona, pleaded the importance of the commission, on which the Pope was about to employ him; the great utility he might procure his Country in the execution of it; and the example which was particularly expected from him of deference to that authority, which his writings had so well inforced, "These arguments determined him to purfue his journey.\* This is a fresh instance of that sheadiness, byn which Mr. Phillips characterizes his Hero, contrary to facts: the want of a folidity of judgment to determine him appears through all his life; and was so notorious to the Italians, who knew him belt, and who, observing his easiness to be seduced, and imposed upon by those with whom he conversed branded him with a weakness, which they galled Dapecaggine, that fluctuating inresolution, which, subjects a man to the craft and impolitions of those who are willing to make a tool of him. " He forgets not to make a merit of this obedience to the Pope by a Letter to Contareni; defiring his Holine's would take care of his fafety, and protect him from the dangers he apprehended, for having provoked his His contract of the second

P. 137. m.P. 138. Parker in vità Rego Poli.

Prorsus iis lectis, plane utres oft (nec me factiarem, quam sum, facio) prope succubuerim—Cum illi optimi Episcopi, in quorum me comitatu scis esse---ambo una voce, quasi divinitus ad me missi, tergiversantem tetinuerum, et vacillantem animum optimis vorbis confirmarente. Pol. Epist. Cardin. Contareno, Quirini, vol. 1. numb. xlv.

King by obeying the Pope; and in the chile of the Letter again beforethes him to confur with the Pope about keeping him fafe from their faces. And then, teast this folicitude should too much diminish his character, he adds, " for his own part, their attempting his fife; could not happen fooner than he defined. if the publick good might be advanced by fach a facrifice. . I have observed through his writings; whenever he brags of his courage, it is the want of a coward; and his talking loud betrays the fear which he endeavours to conceal by it. His repeted fears Mr. Phillips takes no notice of; but his magnanimity in despiting dangers for the publick good, he lingles out. He concludes his letter to Contareni, with declaring, that he delivers himself up entirely into the hands of the Pope, Cui totum me trado. Ep. xlv.

In Ottober he arrived at Rome, and was lodged in the Pope's Palace. The Nine Collegues felected for that purpose conferred together on the Reformation of the Church. Pole ' was the youngest of all the 'Associates, and though they were men of the first character for learning and probity, yet he was the directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the Plan of Reformation, the substance of which had been the joint labors of them all: and hen it was printed some years after, it appeared in his name, without any mention of his Col-

legues.' P

The more of Pole's hand and directing mind was

in it the more regard this his great Admirer, I hope, will give it. In it we shall find those principles admitted, which will not only justify *Henry* in his procedings, in the Divorce and Supremacy, but also the

reformation

• P. 138, P P. 140.

reformation of many other abuse which followed in time. They admit, 'those abuses, wherewith the Church of God, and ofpecially the Court of Romes has been long affected, and which had brought the - Church to the very brink of ruin, grew from the Popes heaping up, flatterers, who should employ Sutheir wit to find out ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleased ;---infomuch that 's the Pope's will, and pleasures whatever it be, must needs be the rule for all that he does --- from this fource as from the Trojan Florie, those so many abuses and such montal diseases have broken forth into the Church of God, which have reduced her 'admost to a state of desparation .-- You, Holy Father, flow, that where the disease grew at first, there the remedy must begin. And following the Example of St. Paul, you intended to be a Dif-Smeafer, and not a Lord'--they then censure the Pope's dispensing with antient Laws-and making a gain of the power of the keys: ' that Grace of God which they had freely received, they ought " freely to give." Then they enumerate too many abisfes to be here repeted to But the fource of all the abufes in the Church was, according to them, the Pope's tyrmeny in inflaving Kings and Nations. making himfelf'a Lord over them, and not a Differfer or Steward 11- and the diforders in discipline grew from his being an unrighteous steward, and making merchandife of the Grace of God. If this charge is true, were we to blame, if we endeavoured to deliver the Church, as far as we were able, from this gaping ruin i what method to reform the abuses, bift by removing the fource? was Henry to blame to get sid, not of a lawful fuperior, but an imperious Lord

Lord and Tyrant, who domineened without; author rity? and to restore strength to the antient Laws and Canons of the Church, which were so capriciously dispensed with; or executed, as base lugge, or the. Pope's private interests persuaded? or was the reformation of other abuses wrong, which indeed sollowed of course when the cause was removed. I mean't those which grew from the shameful sales of, spiritual graces, under various pretexts and impositions of private masses, purgatory, adoration of images, intercessions of faints, pilgrimages, indulgences, and many other such like gainful superstitions? Will it be faid, we ought to have staid till the Rope should reform these abuses himself? What reformation did he fet about in these material and essential points which confessed v called for it? Let Mr. Phillips speak: \* Though the Commissioners discharged their trust with a zeal answerable to their s parts and probity, yet many various difficulties occurred, when that was to be reduced to practice. which till then, had been the object of Theory only. The temper of the times feemed ill fuited to the change which was projected, and though the differenced manners of the Christian World called aloud for a remedy, yet there was no favorable. crifis in which it could be applied with a prospect of "fuccefs.' Till the time thall better feet, and there shall be a favorable Crisis for applying this comedy, for which the diffempered manners of the Christian World call aloud, Mr. Phillips might allow, that a Practical Reformation in England was preferable to only a Theoretical one at Rome. Car-

pithal Schomberg (supposed to be sent to the Conclave on purpose from the Pope) prevented the publication of this Advice at that time, perluading a delay till it could be referred to a General Council. Sleiden mentions a reason urged by Schomberg, which Mr. Phillips has not given us, that if his advice was not followed, the Littherans would brag, that They had as it were forced them to put things into better order: "Ithis is a good Catholick reason, often to be met with, and of which the Commissioners themselves were sensible; for speaking against dispensations for the Clergy's marriage, this they say is effecially to be observed at a time, when this liber-' ty is violently contended for by the Lutherans,' that the judgment of St. Paul, that it is better to marry than to burn, if the Lutherans join him, shall for that reafon be opposed by the Pope and his Counsellors. There is a remarkable instance of this delicacy not to cenfure the Church of Rome, though it should be in an error; in the advice which Pole gave to Cochlaus, who feemed to disapprove the modern custom of not giving the Eucharist to Children: the Cardinal says, samposing the fact was decided on which fide he pleafed, that is, whether this custom was right or wrong, ' yet great caution was to be used, lest---he might, contrary to his inclination, greatly injure the Church of Rome, which was not favorable to . the fide he maintained. For if the practice was of that necessity, which his writings infinuated, its omiffion (by the Church of Rome) could not be sexcused from great ignorance or neglect.' And then commends his reverence for the Mother Church, for not publishing its ignorance or neglect in this point

Hist. Ref. Lib. xii. Ibid.

point (supposing his opinion true) but dutifully ac-

quiescing in its errors.

But, fays the Biographer, this Plan of Reformation was printed at Rome, by Bladi, (Printer for the Apostolick Chamber) in 1538, and inserted by Peter Crabbe into the Collection of Councils ; though omitted, as Possevin complains, in the latter one of Surius. Perhaps, as it wanted the fanction of publick authority, he might not think it proper to give it a place in that work.' For the information in this note, and fagacity in the close of it, Mr. Phillips is again indebted to Quirini, without any acknowledgment. The printed Copies were so rare that few knew any thing of them; they were dispersed in proper places, as the Pope thought convenient, to perfuade the Lutherans, that he really meant a reformation: Sturmius and Luther republished it, and made their advantage of it. Grieved to find their Confession become so publick, they endeavoured to hide it as much as they could; and Gáraffa, one of the Commissioners, when he became Pope put it into the Catalogue of prohibited Books. This will, without a perhaps, account for the omission of it in Surius and Binius's editions of the Coun-Its wanting the fanction of publick authority had equally excluded it from Peter Crabbe's Collection: but, as Schelhorne observes, it was as usual, as necessary, to insert all publick papers relating to the Councils, whether previous, or subsequent to them: and evidences in those of Ephefus, Chalcedon, Bafil, and Trent; with respect to this latter, Binius has inferted many relative pieces; but has omitted, what certainly

<sup>\*</sup> P. 140. Note, vol. 1. p. 367.

Certainly belonged to it, the Confession of Adrian VI. to the Diet at Norimberg, and that of the nine Commissioners. Both these were forbidden by the Index Prohibitorius of Paul IV. I mean not to conceal that Quirini denies this; but Schelhwene

proves it very clearly.

But Lord Herbert observes, that the Plan here faid down gave occasion to rectify several abuses in " the Church.' " The more the better: the fewer abuses are left in that Church, the easier will be what I ardently wish, but can never expect to see, a reconciliation of the two Churches, and an Union With all the particular Churches in Christendom. Let them give up but two points, confessed by themselves to be abuses, I mean the usurped Domination of the Pope, as universal Biship, and all those tricks of Discipline invented for the merchandise of spiritual Graces, and we shall the sooner come to an accord. Their worldly Interest and Pomp will then cease to influence them, and our jealousy will be the less afarmed. But whatever amendment might be made in Individuals, by feeing abuses pointed out to them, to which they before were inattentive; of this I shall say nothing, as I know nothing: but it is notorious that neither the Pope that alked this Advice. nor the Delegates who gave it, followed it themfelves. With regard to Paul III. this may be feen largely proved by Schelhorne, De confilio de emendenda Ecclesia a Paulo III. executioni non dato, p. 48-58. I shall mention only two in which Pole was concerned. They complain of giving Bifhopricks to Car-G 2 dinals

De Confil. de Emend. Ecclesia, p. 20, 21.

dinals as an abuse, which it is of great moment to correct. Because first, the office of a Cardinal and of a Bishop are incompatible. Beside, it is setting a bad example, for how should the Holy See correct the abuses of other men, if it suffers them to contionue in its chief and principal members? for, because they are Cardinals, it is not therefore more s lawful for them to transgress the laws, but it is a-. bundantly less lawful in them. Their example should be a law to others; nor should they imitate the Pharifees who faid but did not. Christ on the contrary began to do, and then to teach.\*' Of these Delegates, Contareni was at the time of consultation both Bishop and Cardinal; Caraffa and Sadolet were both Bishops, and promoted to the Cardinalate prefently after; Fregeli and Aleander, both Archbishops, and presently after promoted to the Cardinalate; and Pole, who was not in Orders at the confultation, (and fure if a Layman may be called to make laws for the Church, a King in his own dominions may fee to the execution of those already made)

Alius cțiam abusus invaluit, ut reverendissimis Cardinalibus Episcopatus conferantur sive commendentur, non unus tantum, sed plures: quem, Pater heatissime, putamus magni esse momenti în Ecclesia Dei. Primo quidem, quia officium Cardinalatus et officium Episcopi incompatibilia sunt...præterea, Pater Sancte, hic usus maxime obest exemplo: quomodo namque hæc sancta sides poterit dirigere et corrigere aliorum abusus, si în præcipuis suis membris abusus non tollerentur? Nec obid, quod Cardinales sint, putamus eis magis licere transgredi legem, imo longe minus. Horum enim vita debet esse aliis lex; nec imitandi sunt Pharisei, qui dicunt & non faciunt: sed Christus Salvator noster incepit facere, & posteà docere.

Consilium de emendenda Ecclesia.

made) was foon after made a Cardinal, and about twenty years after accepted of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and burned his Predecessor to come at it.

'Again, They observe, the Command of Christ, freely he have received, freely give, obliges not only his Holiness but all who share his power; therefore they require it should be observed by his Legates and Nuncios. The scandalous traffick in his office for licences, indulgences, and dispensations, when Pole was Legate here under Queen Mary, was as contrary to this advice, as it was a dishonor to Religion. This Mr. Phillips denies in his second Part. faving, every department of his Legantine Office was served without sees; and where the Laws prefcribed a Fine, it was employed for the relief of the needy.x'. But Mr. Strictland's report in Crashaw's mittimus to the Jubilee at Rome, is a sufficient teltimony of the scandalous traffick which I have mentioned.

The reward of this service was the service was the calling Caraffa, Sadolet, and Pole to the Cardinalate in Dec. 1536, and Frigosi and Alexader soon after. Mr. Phillips's differtation on Cardinals in general, I pass over, as he acknowledges it a new order that grew to be necessary from the great accession of temporal power to the See of Rome, and the extent of her spiritual jurisdiction, which still became more wide, as the Gospel spread itself over the whole earth. But it makes one smile to hear the new Cardinal's sufficient on this occasion, This is the in-

F P. 228. Y P. 30. 2 P. 147.

f heritance we have received from those illustrious Cardinals of the Church, the Apoples, whose fucceffors we glory to be ; but if I may be allowed to embellish my writing with a flower culled from Mr. Phillips, these successors approached the Apostles in proportion only as they fell less short of them.' Nothing of the Apostles humility appeared in these fuccessors, who assumed titles and dignities to which the poor Apostles were strangers; these grew from new powers in the Church unknown to them: 2nd which aggrandized men, who were at best, but the fuccessors of the Priests and Deacons of Rome. unchristian pride, arrogance, and voluptuousness of this unevangelical order was grown to such a height at this time, that in the Council of Trent one boldly ventured to complain of the grievance, and recommend the reformation of the Cardinals. Hlustriffimi et reverendissimi Cardinales indigent illustriffima & rever rendishmå reformatione b.

Yet great as this dignity was, if the spring of Pole's conduct be indeed the same that I have assigned, he must rather wish to decline accepting of it. He had not yet received the first tonsure, or made his yow of chastity; a yow not very consistent with his hopes of the English Crown in dowry with the Princess Mary: Wherefore Reginald was the only person who apposed his promotion. The Ambassadour and Creatures of Charles V. were particularly deficults it should take effect, pretending that this promotion would give the affairs of England a more favorable turn: but Beccatelli, Reginald's Secretary, has assigned a reason, says Mr. Phillips, more suised

A P. 150. Quirini, vol. 1. p. lant.

to

to the genius of Courts, and therefore more probable; that, by this means, an opinion would be removed, which several persons were possessed of. that the Princess Mary, Henry's daughter, might, one time or other, chuse Reginald for her Husband, from the fingular affection both she and the late • Queen her Mother had borne him from his infancy . If the Emperour by his Ambassadour labored to prevent Pale by these means from marrying the Princels, whom he intended to dispose of elsewhere: Pole labored no less on the other hand to avoid this inconvenient dignity, fignifying to the Pope, that nothing could be so ill timed as such a step: that it would make him forfeit all his interest in England, where he must appear a Partisan of the Pope and of the Court of Rome, and would en-6 danger the lives and fortunes of all that belonged to him,'--- The Pope seemed satisfied with his reasons: and I, fays Beccatelli, was witness to the real joy this declaration gave him (Pale.) But the next day, when ther induced by the Imperial Emissaries, or of his own motion, the Pope altered his mind, and commanded Reginald's immediate obedience. remptory command requiring prefent compliance. Bectatelli, who was present, says, Pole submitted to the tonfure with as much reluctance, as the lamb to the Sbeering knife ..

A design of admitting Erasmus into the sacred College, had not his death, a little before, prevented, gives Mr. Phillips an opportunity of drawling to his subject the character of that celebrated writer, against whom, as well as his Admirer Mr. Papes he is very G. A. severe.

e P. 141. d Dudith. p. 23.

severe, for not adhering steadily either to the Roman or Lutheran Caufe, but behaving with equal infincerity to both. As it belongs not to the subject, I leave it to those who may think themselves more concerned in his vindication. So much I will yenture to fay, that if a Protestant writer had attacked the character of Erasmus with half this virulence. Pole, who was well acquainted with Erasmus, would, have accosted him in this manner; Because he differs in opinion from you, do you therefore charge. him with infincerity? a man most exercised in fliterature, than whom no one in our age, has labored with greater genius or more industry, and who has written more books than I believe you have ever read; is your rejecting his opinion in. fome cases a sufficient reason for you to affirm he, does not mean what he fays?' So I venture to declare Pole would have written against a Protestant. who should have charged Erasmus with infincerity; for so he did write against Sampson in the very year that Erasmus died\*. When his character was better known than it can be now to Mr. Phillips: but the Patron of the Monks must hate Erasmus,

The

## e P. 161.

Quia tecum non sentit, dicis eum haud sincere loqui? an satis est Te contra virum in literis exercitatissimum, quo nemo nostro seculo plus in literis, nec majori ingenio et industria laboravit, qui plura opera tonscripsit, quam Te putem unquam legisse...contra hunc ergo talem virum satis esse tibi videtur, cum ejus sententiam rejicis, dicere non sincere eum interpretari et inadvertenter scribere? Polus ad Sampsonem; De Unit. Ecclesast. Lib, ii.

less to the Roman

The new Cardinal having delivered 5. 11h Hill hanifest entirely up to the Pope, as he "professedly did, me tibi totum trado, and thereby withdrawn all the affection and allegiance that was due from him to his Prince, he was judged the most proper instrument to be employed against King Henry. The provocation both to the Pope and the Cardinal we have feen; Henry would not give the one his Kingdom, nor the other his Daughter: part of the firength administered to affift their endeavours to compel him, he diverted, to provide himself with means to result their attempts: this was by raifing money, with consent of Parliatitent, by the suppression of some lesser monasteries, ejecting the profligate members, making some little provision for the voluntary receders, and transferring to other monasteries those who chose that way of life. In which transaction, we must acknowledge many enormous offences on the part of the Monks and Nuns, and much hardship and oppression on the part of the visitors. This threw upon the publick a great number of riotous and debauched people, who could but ill brook the loss of their sanctuaries and exemption from civil power, in which they had been privileged by the Pope; and in return for which they were warm in the defence of his usurpations over the rest of the Kingdom. The King had experienced their resistance of the Royal Authority in the case of the Priors and Monks mentioned in the last year, Webster, Reynolds, and others of the Chartreux. He therefore thought it expedient to deprive them of the ability of sending money to the Pope to be employed against him, and to convert the means

to his own defence. These men spirited up an undisciplined mob of male-contents in Lincolnshire; and a more formidable one in the north, which was conducted by some men of more property, and lay in the neighbourhood of Scotland, where King, on the illegitimation of the two Princesses, was presumptive Helr to the Crown of England.

On this occasion, 'the Pope's zeal for reuniting 6 fo fair a portion to the Catholick Church...induced · Paul III. to fend Cardinal Pole with the character of Legate into the Low Countries, that, being in the neighbourhood of England, he might with figreater certainty be informed of the dispositions of that nation; exert the influence which his Royal descent, and the great authority he still had, gave him; and if the fituation of affairs was such as to make his going over to that Kingdom advises. ble, the journey was left to his diferetion. Gharles and Francis, at war with one another, were desirous each that his rival should declare against the King of . England, and by that means engage that Prince's interest to himself; they therefore, for their own political purposes, encouraged the Cardinal to under-Mr. Phillips fays, he undertake this Commission. took it 6 at the earnest instance of the Emperour's Ambassadours, and almost by their compulsions : but Dudithius rather remarks his forwardness in accepting it, by telling us he did it not unwillingly. The Plan was suggested by himself to encourage the Rebels

## f P. 173. F P. 174.

Hanc provinciam non invitus accepit. Dudith. p. 24.

Robels by going over into England, if it should be found adviseable, or to fix himself in their neighbourhood, in the Low Countries, and correspond with them from thence: and to excite the neighbouring Princes to aid and affift the Rebels: the aim of this commission we are made acquainted with, by the demands of the Rebels who were to be aided and encouraged; restoring the Pope to his antient jurifdiction here, and to take off the Princess Mary's increasity to fuccede to the crown. For this purpose he obtained Letters from the Pope; one to the English Nation, which he defires may be in respectful terms, as if they had been compelled to a defection from the See of Rame; We may judge of their compulsion by a Letter from Q. Mary to the Cardinal, representing it as the greatest difficulty she found in England, the restoring the Pope's jurifdication again \*: Another to the most Christian King. who

Aded enim Delegatio tua publica est suspecta, et nostri subditis odiosa, ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus prejudicii quam auxilii suerit allaturus...plus dissicultatis sit circa suctoritatem sedio Apostolica, quam circa vera Religionis cultum, aded salsis suggestionibus sunt alienati subditorum animi à Pontifice.—Cum verò hac deliberatio (ut statuta super matrimonio serenissima Regina Matris mea abrogarentur) secundo ordini Comitiorum, qui plebeis constat, innotusset, statim suspicatus est hac proponi in gratiam Pontisicis, ut Supremi Capitis Ecclessa Titulus, Corona Regia annexus, distraheretur, potestatom Pontissis in nostro negno redintegraremus, delegationissi; executioni viam prapareremus, et aperiremus. Epist. Maria Regina Card Polo, Quirini, vol. iv. Ep. xliv. p. 119.

Et in Epist. xlv. Verearque ne potins tuz vitze insidientur, quant munere Legati fungi finant, et forant, tantum

who was adjured by his title to give aid to the English Rebels described as zealots for the true religion: A third to the young King of Scotland, with a confecrated fword and cap to inflame his youth to undertake the defence of his neighbours the English rebels, and fight against the Enemies of the Holy Church: And the last to the Emperour's Sister. Regent of the Low Countries, to excite her to affift the English Rebels all in her power, to avenge the honor of her family difgraced by the divorce and illegitimation. And left any ill success should damp the sedition before he arrived in Flanders, he earnestly recommends to his Holiness that he would lodge ample supplies with the Bankers Fuccari and Belzeri, the larger the better, that he may remit into England proper encouragement to prevale on the male-contents to rekindle the rage of Civil War again, and support them in it. And having thus planned how to raise up foreign and domestick enemies to disturb the peace and safety of his natural Lord and munificent Benefactor, he afresh dedicates his life and all his abilities to the obedience. of the King's enemy, the Pope of Rome.\* This entire devotion of an Englishman to the Interest of the See of Rome, verified the observation which the Izalians had so frequently made, that it became a Proverb. Anglus Italianatus Diabolus incarnatus: an Engglishman Italianized, is a Divel incarnate.

The

tum abelt, ut vel auctoritatem aut obedientiam debitam Exclesia et sedi Apostolica sint approbaturi, et recognituri.—.

Obbedito a V. S. alli commandamenti della qua le fottometto la vita & quanto puotro & havero sempre come sono obbligatissimo di fare. Instruzione data dal Card. Polo, Quirini, vol. ii. p. cclxxix.

- The success of his Embassy was equal to the pietr and wisdom of the Plan of it. The poor Cardinal found he was the Dupe of all. He fets out for Paris; but the King fignified to him, on the very day of his Arrival, that he could not admit him to treat of the business on which he came, nor even permit him to make any stay in his dominions h. Here therefore ' he could only give proof of that patient wisdom, which is best seen where our hopes are abortive. ' He next hastens to Cambray in his way to Brussels: but ' the disappointment he met with at the French Court was only an essay of what he was to encounter in the sequel of this affair 's The Regent would not permit him to pursue his journey. What added to his mortification was the defeat of the seditions in England. He therefore desires to be recalled: His Holiness signifies his concern for the unfortunate conclusion of this embassy, and for having exposed the Legate to so many labors and dangers to no purpofc.1'

Thus ended the Embassy of this all accomplished Churchman and most conspicuous Statesman: whose religion made him eager in stirring up neighbouring Princes to oppose the temporal power of his King, and plunge the sword of Civil War in the howels of his Country. Nor was the folly less than the crime of it; in supposing that his Rhetorick would be able to persuade Christian Princes to cut one another's throats only to establish an usurped authority in the Bishop of Rome. So absurd an attempt made some of his friends, 'who had the highest reputation for prudence, to say publickly, that they could not but

h P. 193. 1 P. 184. k P. 196. 1 P. 206.

but admire his courage, and if they had dared to fpeak out, they would have faid his raffines: of thers, to blame his fimplicity, in suffering himself to be drawn into an affair equally troublesome and hazardous." Yet this infatuated zealot, untaught by sound judgment, nor yet corrected by experience, which might have evinced the inutility of any scheme to the King of England's disadvantage, in which the concurrence of these Princes was necessary," too easily persuaded and duped, within less than two years after this project was defeated, undertook a second on the same foundation, which, like this, vanished in apparatus.

These Commotions, exerted chiefly 5. 12. Sap by the Monks, drew in train the fuppression of Mopression of the larger Houses. nasteries. I shall not defend the sacrilegious avarice of those, who from that sole motive forwarded this suppression, on other accounts in general expedient; nor the oppressions of others exerciled toward the innocent, in the execution. while I am convinced that the Lands then in Mortmain far exceded the proportion that prudence should admit in a state, especially as they were appropriated to the support of a standing Army against the Royal Authority, yet I also acknowledge that if some had been applied to the encouragement of piety and learning, luch application had been more honorable, than wantonly to lavish away for a dish of puddings, or prodigally to hang on a cast at hazard, what might have been usefully employed to reward

<sup>20</sup> P. 192. P. 194. • Ibidi

reward merit in some, and to excite it in others? Yet the truth of History obliges me to distent from Mr. Phillips in his account of the Virtue, Learning, and publick Utility of the Monks. He tells us, 'the people had been witnesses of the general regularity which prevaled in these retreats from the World, and of the unfair methods used to missepresent them.'? That 'accusations were rescived on the bare credit of such as were chosen to answer the end of the inspection; and the most unfair and shameful methods made use of to traduce those, whose cause could not be good under so corrupt a government.'

Beside the report of the visitors, their confessions of enormous uncleanness are upon record. the Commissioners, but one of their own nest, that acknowledges ' we do nothing search for the doctrine of Christ, but only follow our sensuality and pleasure.-Monks drink and bull after Collation, till ten or twelve of the clock, and come to matins as drunk as mice.—This Religion, as I fuppose, is all in vain glory, and nothing worthy to be accepted before God or Man." One well acquainted with the transactions of those times, relates, when the Commissioners had taken upon them the charge of this examination, and began by one and one to examine those Friars, Monks and Nuns, upon their oaths, sworn upon the Evangelists, there were difcovered Hypocrifics. Murthers, Idolatries, [false] Miracles, Sodomies, Adulteries, Fornications, Pride, Envy, &c. and onot seven, but seven hundred thousand deadly sins. Alack !

P.P. 216. 9 P. 166. 5 P. 165. 5 Stryp. Mem. vol. r. p. 258.

Alack! my heart maketh all my members to trem; ble, when I remember the abominations that there were tried out. O Lord God! (speaking under correction) what canff thou answer to the Five Cities, confounded with coeleftial fire, when they fhall alledge before thee the iniquities of those Religious whom thou hast so long supported." If this account of them be true, which indeed their own confession confirms, we may ask, are these miscreants the misrepresented injured men, in whose defence Mr. Phillips dares to draw his pen? was this that general regularity of which the people had been witneffes? were thefe the vices that derived all their malignity from the flander of a corrupt government? Aggravations there might be in the vifitors reports. for one of them, Dr. London, was a medling, libidinous, persecuting Priest of the Church of Rome, so he lived, and so he died: but to see no faults to condemn in these Monks, to represent them as innocent persons, is either to deny all credit to History, or to look with a very censurable complacency on crimes, which not only every Christian, but every Man must abhor. The testimony given by the Legislature to the greater Houses, that Religion was well kept up and observed in them, as urged by Mr. Phillips, is a piece of fophistry. Religion there means the external observance of the Rules of their order, and not the practice of Christian Virtues in private. Religion might be well observed in the first sense, by those, who upon a nearer inspection were found to be entirely destitute of it, in the latter.

As

\* Stryp. Mem. vol. 1. p. 249. \* P. 167.

As to their learning, he gives us the following high character of it; They not only promoted a general literary improvement, as far as it was understood or attainable in these times, but were industrious in different periods of our national caarnities to restore learning, and rescue their country from the ignorance into which those disasters - had caused it to fall; and the Monks preserved what these had spared. The Monks were likewife the Guardians of those sources from whence knowledge is derived, and most of the records of the age were lodged with them." Our best. and almost only Historians were persons of this profession, '--- In our Country, true genius and differnment feem to have disappeared almost as foon as they were enjoyed...this obstruction to improyement, after as fair a prospect as ever opened on a nation, must I think in some measure be attributed to the total suppression of that Order of Men, from which Letters had hitherto chiefly drawn their support and encouragement.2' What were these Monks or their Predecessors in that iron age of ignorance and barbarism, when the facred lamp of science was almost totally exfinct'?" When ignorance of all ingentious knowledge, for some ages, spread her sable mantle over all Europe except Italy be.' But perhaps they were the Revivers of Learning among us: so far from it, that the Revivers complain of the Monks as the greatest enemies to it; not only Erasmus is full of these complaints, but Sir Thomas More, one of

P. 220. \* P. 222. 7 P. 220. \* P. 221/

the greatest ornaments of his age for polite Learns ing, detefted the Monks for their ignorance as well as their corrupt manners. 'And Bembo, another of these Revivers, commending the Letters of Cortesias, Abbot of St. George, at Venice, fays, ' no one will fuspect them to be written by a Monk, and to speak e planely, by an ignorant Monk; which adds much to his commendation, for having wiped away a frain which has so long difgraced that name. Mr. Phillips, who quotes the above passage, supposes that order of men has fince made amends to the Publick'; fuch a defence gives up the point as to the time of which we are now speaking. And if further tellimony be wanting, that Mr. Phillips has borne false witness in honor of the Monks, I will produce one, to him unexceptionable, speaking of English Monks, and that too in the very year when this visitation was made, it is that of Reginald Pole himself. In praising his friend Reynolds, the religious Monk of Sion, he fays, he had an extraordinary knowledge of all the liberal arts, drawn from their fountains, which is found in VERY FEW of the monastick Order; for he perfectly knew the three languages in which all liberal knowledge is contained, with which HE ALONE of all the Monks in England was acquainted: And then adding the Franciscans to the Order of St. Bridget, and the Carthusians, he asks, except these three, where will you find any in England who have not forsaken the Authors of their Institution ? so little was Religion

#### P. 100.

<sup>\*</sup> Et quod in paucissimis ejus generis hominum reperitur, omnium liberalium artium cognitionem non vulga-

Religionkept, even in the greater monasteries, and such were the Monks on the Evidence of his own Friends. whom he would pass upon the Readers for the general regularity of their lives, the restorers, the encouragers, the guardians of literature, which disappeared when those monasteries were suppressed. But he allows it had a very short date, even in Italy, where monasteries sufficiently abound; so that true genius and difcernment may disappear where monasteries are not suppressed.

As to their utility, he represents their alms as sufficient to relieve all the Poor of the Kingdom, without any provision made by Parliament, or any Asfessiment on the parish for that purpose. And that while their whole income for the support of so many thousands of themselves, and a generous hospitality, came only to 135,5221. 18s. 10d. not more than a twentieth part of the revenue of the whole kingdom (which he fets, at that time, at three millions) their charity at the same time maintained all the Poor. which now costs the Kingdom 800,000l. per ann. d

This is a very gross misrepresentation of Facts: His proportion is fallely affirmed to be only a twentieth part of the whole revenues of the Kingdom. His valuation of the Abbey lands is much below the truth; for they used to take small rents, but very large fines: their annual rents therefore is a false esti-

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mation

# P. 221.

rem habebat, eamq; ex ipsis haustam fontibus. Nam tres præcipuas linguas, quibus omnis literalis doctrina continetur, probè callebat, et Solur ex Monachis Anglis callebat. Polus de Unit. Eccles. Lib. iii.

. Quosnam habes, cum ab iis discesseris, qui non arorius ab inftituti fui authoribus degeneraverint? Ibid.



mation of their value. The Supplication of Reggars fets it at a third; Lond Herbert at a third or
fourth part; which, supposing the whole to be only
three millions, will amount at least to the sum of
800,000l. And money being then, as this Gentleman admits, five times the value it is now, their endowments were equivalent to four millions: so that
if the Publick gave up four millions yearly to be
eased of the burthen of keeping the poor, and it
should now, as he states it, cost only 800,000l. we
shall see what the nation has gained by the dissolution, taking the rents of the Kingdom at that time, and the
present expence of the Poor, at his own calculation.

It should moreover be observed, that notwithstanding this ample allowance for the relief of the Poor, the Religious Houses sunk great part of it, and suffered the Poor to starve. From the misaplication of the revenues of Monasteries; from the over-charging Religious Houses with corodies and pensions f; from the Abbots and Superiors imposing heavy taxes on them : by which means (as the Statutes complain) alms are not given to the poor, the fick and feeble; and many men and women have died in great misery, for default of aid, living, and succour. Reader is to remark further, that this obligation to maintain and relieve the poor did not cease at the dissolution, but passed to the new Owners with the lands under a penalty of 61. 131. 4d. per month for default or neglect. And so continued, notwithstand-

<sup>\* 2</sup> H. v. c. 1. f 9 Ed. 2. St. i. c. 11. \* 35 Ed. 1, St. i. c. 11.

ing the parochial affeliments, till the 21st of James 1. when these lands were discharged.

It is likewise a great mistake to say, that there was no provision made by Parliament, nor any affestment on Parishes for the relief of the Poor. There have beell Laws of Kings, and Injunctions of Councels from the days of Edgar to the very year of the diffolution of the leffer Houses for this purpose. giving was injoined, imprudent modes of it restrained, Briefs granted by the Bilhop to his Clergy to excité their Congregations to a generous contribution 1: Begging was encouraged, within fuch limits as led the way to modern fettlements, officers appointed to collect and apply the charity of well disposed Christians: And as to the affeliments on the people, their burthen may be very difficult to afcertain, but we may easily guess it was not less than the present rates; from the obligation laid on all men to give alms daily, on fall days to add more; commuting for penance by alms; pilgrimages, offerings, redeming fouls out of Purgatory by fuch meritorious good works; dyiff persons persuaded to remember the Poor in their wills; the charities distributed at Funerals; and the pehriy a quarter to the five Orders of Friars paid by every House, amounting to 43,000 li per annum, then, which would be of our money, according to Mr. Phillips's calculation, 215,000% all this will enable us to fee in great measure what the nation has gained by the dissolution.

That our Poor are more numerous and more burthensome than could in reason be expected, is what

H 3 men

h See Archer's Account of Religious Houses, p. 619, 620.

men of reflection acknowledge with concern, and many have offered their thoughts how it may be remedied, yet without success: but the dissolution of monasteries has contributed nothing to this disorder. The restoring so many thousands of both sexes to the divine institution of marriage has encreased our peaple; the throwing back into the common stock of national industry such great numbers of useless perfons, who would have been locked up in cloyfters; the recovery of so many superstitious Holydays to useful labor, which had been wasted in idleness and riot, have made arts and commerce flourish; infomuch, that while the revenue of the lands of the Kingdom, as Mr. Phillips states it, was only three millions yearly at the time of the diffolution, to which Trade, Manufactures and Commerce added comparatively little, the whole has been computed by Dr. Davethant many years ago at forty-three millions. The encrease of people by that event, the encrease of industry by the same means, and the taking out of Mortmain fuch vast tracts of land for the encouragement of that industry at that time having chiefly contributed to this aftonishing success, let us see with an evidence not to be disputed, that the nation has gained very considerably by the dissolution; and might gain much more, had not Italian vices been imported among us, and if every idle pair of hands among the able Poor could be compelled to work or starve.

In the suppression of the Greater rigularly the Houses, when their jugling and imforings of St. postures were detected, and their in-Austin and St. struments of superstition and deceit removed, two inffances gave particu-Canterbury. lar difgust to the Cardinal, which Mr. Phillips also resents: they were both at Canterbury. Therp was a Shrine, Church, and Monastery dedigated to St. Augustin, who came over to convert the Sanons, who had over ran Britany, and drove the old Britons, into the mountains: the new erected Saxon Churches submitted to the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome,; but the British Churches, when required by Augustin to do the same, refused to do so; for which this Apolle from Rome is reported to have stirred up Edelhert, King of Kent, with an army to murder Dinoch and twelve hundred Monks of Banger. 'This · Augustin, says the Cardinal, was He who begat us in the faith, who first brought the Gospel to us, by whose preaching we were born to the inheritance for the fons of God, With respect to his own British Ancestors this was not true; but the merit. of introducing the Pope's Supremacy into England. where it was not known before, and the supposed zeal of massacring twelve hundred Monks for refifting it, advanced him to a Canonization among the Saxon Papalins, King Henry, descended from those Britons who refused that Supremacy, revenged the deaths of those Monks of Bangor, by extirpating out of these kingdoms that bloody usurpation, and destroying the places dedicated to the memory of this - H 4

Apolog. ad Carol. §. 24.

this Monk at Canterbury. This indignity the Cardinal, though descended as well as the King from those Britons, could not brook; and fets it forth, fays his. Biographer, in all the eloquence that ever animated a Grecian or Roman Writer, on subjects with. " which they were most affected." All the eloquence of Greece or Rome one would think should have satisfied Mr. Phillips; but he unmercifully endeayours to whet it to a sharper edge. The Cardinal fays. He not only pulled down the Shrine, but he. entirely destroyed first That, then the Churchi tor. gether with the Monastery: and the place before dedicated to God and this Saint (in which, night and a day, Men set apart to God, sang praises with thanksgivings and intercessions to God, for the welfare of the King chiefly, and of his whole realm) turning out these holy men, he converted to his own use. and that of wild beafts, by making a park there, and a palace for himself out of the ruins of the Monaftery. This, in the Biographer's version, is, ' the inclosure was laid waste, and appropriated to wild. beafts, and a palace raifed out of the ruins, for, I fomething still more savage, Himself.1' Thus he adds a glare to the solemnity of the Cardinals coloring, as Rubens ventured to heighten and improve his drawings after Julio Romana,

The other instance complained of was the digging up the bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury, burning them, and scattering the ashes in the air. This was a crime, which the Cardinal uses all his powers of Rhetorick to aggravate. It was so impious, that it proves his likeness to the Prince of impiety; for only Satan rages against Men after they are dead:

nay

k P. 225. 1 P. 226.

nay the malice of the Divel is too faint to furnish out a sufficient comparison, He raging only against the wicked after death, or good Men while living:

but the King rages against dead Saints, whose Seminates the Divels are assaid to come near. To dig up the bones of a Man long since dead, to burn them, when reduced to asses to scatter them in contempt in the wind, he questions whether there ever was read of such an act of cruelty; this he is sure of, if any such thing should be attempted by any one, those who act only according to the light of nature would condemn him as a very profligately wicked sellow. To root up buried bones is the part of a wild beast and not of a Man.\*

If the fact was as he relates it, it was a piece of impotent malice, which deferves censure: but the burning is not certain; and the blending the bones and ashes with others, was to prevent that idolatry and impolition which had fo long prevaled, and was fo extravagant, that the Church, which was originally dedicated to Christ, was translated from himby the superstitious Votaries and in the esteem of the Vulgar to the honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury: who was so much more venerated than the Virgin Mary, or Christ himself, that (as Bishop Burnet informs us) in one year, when his offerings role to near a thousand pounds, the Virgin's Altar received no more than 41. 1s. 8d. and Christ's had not one penny. To put a stop to this blind devotion cannot, in reason déserve so severe a censure. And he ought to have been more merciful to the diggers up of dead Men's

m Apolog. ad Czefar. §. zxiii.

Men's hones; for though Pole had never read of fuch a thing, the greater reading of his Biographer has furnished us with an instance of a Pope's being thus micked; for, as he tells us, Formosus ordered the hones of his Predecessor to be taken up, for having been a Bishop before he was Pope.

My reading indeed does not confirm this fact: but I have read in Platina, that Stephen VI. in Council, ordered the bones of Formofus to be dup up, and thrown into the Tyber, for having formerly difappointed him of the Popedom. However, if the Cardinal's reading would not furnish him with infrances of dead Mens bones being dug up, might not his fagacity have suggested to him that it was no new thing? else how came the skull of St. Thomay to be venerated there as a precious relich? It is true the skull was not His, for that was found withthe rest of his bones; but then the skull of some body else had been dug up, and venerated for his, and was as potent in working miracles as that of the Saints own would have been. So that this unheard of exhumation, was a common practice in the Church of Reme, to gull people out of their money. Nay, who would think it? the Cardinal himself played this part of a wild beaft, which he falfely charges upon Henry: procuring from Queen Mary awarrant to dig up the bones of Bucer and Paul Eagias at Cambridge, and to burn them as Hereticks after they were dead; as he did alfo to burn the bones, of his old friend Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, Hero Pole had an opportunity of contrasting the behaviour of the Tucks at the taking of Rhodes with his

his own implety. 'Those conquerors, though uni! der all the prejudices of Mahometan Superstition,
! had not removed any of the Monuments of the
! Saints, which they found in the Island, nor of! fered the least insult to them; and had behaved
! through the whole affair, with the greatest decen! cy and humanity."

He goes on, " He had been acknowledged by the whole Christian World, by the space of three hundred years, as a great fervant of God, who laid down his life in his cause, and was a principal Patron of the English nation." So far from the Cardinal: but Mr. Phillips, to fuit himself to the fashion of the times, observes, the Cardinal has confidered this Prelate as a Saint and a Martyr = 4 but the temper of these times seems to require that fomething should be said of him, as a MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY, and one, whose High Office of Prelate obliged him to be the guardian of her hiberties; the qualities which fill up the measure of this character, being in the eye of an Englishman. what makes a Hero, and, which is a still more sacred name, a Patriot. 92 Of fixteen articles to which Henry II. required the Archbishop to subfcribe, fix were manifeftly destructive of those immunities, which then made up no less a part of our Constitution, than any others contained in the Great Charter. He refused to betray this trufts and shewed a fortitude, which, was the chief Masgiftrate of our Metropolis to exert in defence of its liberty, and die in the cause, the whole nation f would think his memory deferving of the greateft honors. Few persons, I presume, will be so lost to all justness of sentiment, as to make here any distinction between the legal claims of the

any diffinction between the legal claims of the Clerey, and those of the Laity: fince he, who

lays down his life in defence of either, equally

afferts the common cause, and presents his breast to

that stroke which was aimed at his country.

Now those fix articles, as well as the others, were the antient Laws of the Kingdom, which had been violated by pretendell immunities of the Clergy, which grew up after the Normans had feparated the King's and Bishop's Courts, who in the Saxon times fate together. The Archbishop swore to observe these antient Laws, with good faith, and without deceit, in opposition to a subterfuge by which he hoped to have eluded the observance of them, which was by the referve of faving his Order: but the King in-Afted upon the oath without the evalion; which Becket, though with reluctance, took; and afterwards acted contrary to his oath, being absolved from it by the Pope. If we enquire, what were those immunities, and legal claims of the Clergy, which this Pairies, and Patron of his Country infifted on, and defended, we shall find they were in fact a privilege for Himself, not to account to the King for money which he had received for the King's use, while he was Chancellor; and to the Clergy in general, an exemption from Civil punishments for any offences, event robbery, rape, or murder. Neuburgenfit, who wrate under the very next reign, gives the following account of those times; 'more than an hundred murders are faid to have been committed by the Clergy 1 ~ 1

Clergy under King Henry II....the Bishops while they labor more to maintain the liberties and dignities of Churchmen than to correct their vices. think they do God and the Church great fervice. if they rescue and defend the enormities of the Churchmen against publick discipline... whence the Clergy...taking licence and liberty to do what they please, neither revorence God, nor men set in authority." Such was the merit of this publick spirited Patriot! who did not present his own breast to any stroke that was aimed at his Country, but bared the breafts of all the Laity to the daggers of fanctified Affains, who might strike with impunity. Good God! of what monstrous crimes has Mr. Phillips undertaken the defence! what pests to society has he dignified and recommended to our imitation as illustrious examples of Heroism and Patriotism! But, fays the Cardinal, "God vouches for 4 him by the Miracles wrought in attestation.' I will not conceal that I, find these miracles urged in proof of his Saintship within less than fifty years after his unwarrantable murder, when people were not quite fatisfied with the merit and virtue of his conduct. At which time Cafarius the Monk informs us, it was a moot point at Paris, whether Becket was faved or damned. Roger the Norman maintained the latter. for his relifting God's Minister the King: Reter Canter, on the contrary, urging his Miracles in testimony of his Holiness and Salvation. So that we fee, even at that time of day, among the members of the Church of Reme, his cause was so suspicious, that

<sup>\*</sup> Ex Chronico Neub. vid. Fox, vol. 1. Lib. viii. cap. 69. vide Fox, vol. 1.

that were it not for the miracles wrought by him? he was judged in danger of being damned as a Rebel against his Kings Nearly of the same opinion feerns to have been Bollact, the Bishop of Meaux ? if the cause, in which this Prelate died, has appeared equivocal to the low views of wordly prudence. it has pleafed the wifdom of the Almighty to declare in its favor by wonders, which were so frequent, and fo well attested, by the unanimous agreement of all Authors of those times, that they cannot be contested without calling in question whatever History has transmitted to us." Whence it appears that the virtues of this Saint were so doubtful, that miracles only could afcertain them. I acknowledge that at that time of day, miracles only were fufficient to procure a Canonization. ' If he be eminent for miracles, says Pope Benedict VIII. account him a Saint.\* And so it continued till Becket was canonized, two years after he was affaffinated, about the year 1173: But by the end of that Century, Innocent III. was fensible that many, whose reputation for miracles was great, were of very blameable. livest, therefore not thinking miracles alone fufficient to ascertain an æquivocal character, he required both should concur in order to this Honor; and from that time to the days of Luther, all the Bulls of Canonization run in this form, of whose boliness of life, and

# \* P. 2274

Si ita corufcat miraculis...tractate eum ut Sanctum'. Justi Fontanini Codex Canoniz. A. D. 1016.

† Quidam etiam coruscant miraculis, quorum tamen' vita meritò reprobatur...ad id nec opera sufficiunt sola, nec signa. Epist. Innoc. HI. Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Epist. 530.

and certainty of miracles too are affured . And reason good, for as a Parifian Divine observes, 4 if one who is damined (for his wicked life) should be ca-4 monized for a Saint, the Church must appear most difficulous to the Divels themselves, when they see it to devoutly worship a man, whom they are tore menting every day with the most exquisite tortures. and will torment for every! So that, according to the later and more correct judgment of the Church of Rome, Roger the Norman might have still maintained his opinion, notwithstanding whatever Peter Cantor could urge from the corufaction of miracles; for that is their usual term; by which I should suppose they mean that vibrating same, which glitters in a vague opinion, but is not steadily fixed by any certainty of facts. For, which throws a little fuspicion even on the truth of his miracles, his Canonization passed within about two years of his death; whereas the more prudent Popes now, as we see by Benedicti XIV, would not have such hafte made in applying for one, but expect a competent time from the death; for he fays, " it is no uncommon thing that upon the death of one of the Faithful, a great fame be foread abroad of his virtues and miracles, which fame nevertheless is apt to vanish in time, unless

§ De cujus vitæ sanctitate et miraculorum veritate certi sumus.

នេះ ១១ **នជ័** ខេត្ត

<sup>†</sup> Si qui inter Sanctos ad inferos damnatus esset, ludibrio maximo esset ipsis damonibus Ecclesia, quum viderent, cam tam impense colero at venesari, quem exquisitissimis tormentis indies cruciant, et in perpetuum eruciabunt. Andreas Dwallius de Rom. Pontis in Eccles potestate pe 11. p. 336.

it is founded on certain facts.\* And what are now become of the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury? time and the counsels of divitie wisdom, though the artifices of men supported them awhile, have made them vanish. Some account of them may be seen in Fax, vol. t. p. 203. too vidiculous, and too foul to blot my page with. And if Mr. Phillips, or that greatest Scholar, Orator, and Divine of his Age, as Lord Bolingbroke calls Bossuet, are weak enough seriously to believe the Monkish Legends of his miracles, or wicked enough to apply them in evidence when they do not believe them, their heads or their hearts are of such a texture, as, either sor their folly, or their knavery, to deserve no credit.

The End at which Mr. Phillips aims, and to inculcate which the life of this Cardinal was chosen as a proper mean, is the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as of divine right, and necessary to salvation; and thence to infer the damnable impiety of those, who resuse that supremacy in this Kingdom, and maintain the King's over all his Subjects. These are no trisling points if his soundation is strong: he afferts indeed, 'the Pope's supremacy was entirely abolished, and a power usurped by Henry

Nihil enim frequentius esse, quam post mortem alicujus sidelis viri, aut mulieris, magnam fanctitatis vel miraculorum opinionem in populo oriri, ae potissimum si ab aliquibus de industria rumor soveatur; qua tamen opinio, nisi veritate innixa sit, vel ipso temporis lapsalanguescere et interire, vel, etiamsi hominum artisciis aliquandiu sustentari pergat, perspicuis tandem Divina Sapientia consiliis destrui, et consundi consuevit. Bemedictus Papa Episcopo Augusteno, 15 O.A. 1745.

Henry of laying waste that fair edifice, which, like all others throughout the Christian World, had been founded by the Divine Law-giver, on the pre-eminence of that See, and had rested on it. in this Kingdom, fince its first establishment, due ring nine hundred years."—'That the King's claim was repugnant to all Antiquity."-And that the acknowledgment of it ' separated the nation from the Catholick Church., I wish Mr. Phillips, in condescension to men of only plane sense, had been more explicit, or less figurative, in the first of these periods, that I might be certain what he means by that fair edifice; whether the Pope's fupremacy, or the Church in general, or this Church in particular, or any thing elfe : or what he means by that See, which has nothing in the fentence to which it may refer. Many questions the vagueness of his expression might lead me to ask; but from referring in the margin to St. Matth. ch. xvi. and knowing in what sense Pole interprets that Text, I presume Mr. Phillips intended to affert, that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the universal Church was given to him by Christ, by virtue of these words, Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I baild my Church. Now for the fake of fuch English Readers into whose hands this Book may have fallen, and who have not read the volumes on this Controversy; since Mr. Phillips dares obtrude upon them. as uncontroverted maxims, errors which have been again and again refuted, he makes it necessary for me to retail to those Readers an answer to his groundless affertions; and shew them that Obrist did not

\* P. 71. \* P. 70. 7 P. 2.

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give any supremacy to the Bishop of Rome by those words—that the King's claim is agreeable to all antiquity—that we may be members of the Catholick Church, though we acknowledge our King as supreme within his own dominions, and refuse to submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome—and therefore that an Englishman may continue a good Subject to his King, and be in a salvable state whatever Pole or Phillips advance or insinuate to the con-

trarv.

To fay nothing of the Bishop of Rome, of whom the Scriptures say not a word; we deny that these words give any supremacy to Peter himself over the rest of the Apostles: Pole says, the Church has univerfally interpreted the words fo; and that their universal practice has been agreeable to that interpretation. The various interpretations of these words in the Church, even of Popes themselves, destroy the uniformity which Pole contends for; yet, he attempts to prove, that this was their opinion, from their universal acknowledgment of a supremacy in Peter and his Successors at Rome, from that time to this. This is so far from being true, that there has, been no time in which it has been univerfally affented to. At the very time that this great privilege is, supposed to be given to Peter, it was not so understood, by him, or by the other Apostles; for after this declaration of Christ, the Disciples reasoned among themselves, who should be the Greatest? which could not have been, if their master had decided this matter before: at least, here was an opportunity for Christ to have explaned himself, if he had intended; any fuch superiority to Peter. Instead of that, he condemns

condennis the contention, and the pride of aiming at a superiority. This Pole himself acknowledges; and in excuse asks, what occasion was there for Christ, while he was himself present on earth, to appoint a Vicar? Thence I infer by Pole's own confession, that the Supremacy was not granted to Peter

by virtue of the Text before-mentioned.

Driven from this Text Pole flys to another, and fays the supremacy was given by Christ just before his Ascension, in these words, Feed my Sheep. But the other Apostles were also to feed the flock of God over which the Floly Ghost had made them overseers. To which Pole answers, other magistrates are sworn to administer justice as well as Kings; are they therefore Kings? we may reply, that if there was no other designation or appointment of a King, than the same oath that is given to a common magistrate, it would be difficult to distinguish the King from the common magistrate.

He then appeals to Custom, for the confirmation of this supremacy. But as the Scriptures make no mention of one Apostle over the rest, so neither did the primitive Church acknowledge the supremacy of one Bishop over all others. The Apostolical Canons, which at latest are allowed to have been made before the Empire was Christian, direct that the Bishop of each Nation should know him who is first amongst them, and should esteem him the Head, and do nothing extraordinary without his advice: and that each of them should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct and the places under it. Canon 34. Here is a prohibition against the Bishop of Rome's pragmatical medling with 1 2 caufes causes or persons out of his own diocese. Such also we learn from Cyprian was the custom of those times; none of us, fays he, makes himself a Bishop of Bishops, every Bishop is sui juris, and can neither condemn or be condemned by another . And in the Epistles of Pope Pius II, there is an acknowledoment that ' before the Council of Nice every Bishop lived independent on another, and small regard was had to the Bishop of Rome\*.' In that Council, when the Emperour was become a Christian, the VIth Canon ordains, that ' the antient custom shall be observed, which gives power to the Bishop of Alexandria over all the Provinces of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, because the Bishop of Rome had the like jurisdiction over all the su-. burbicary regions.' The Bishop of Rome therefore had no superior power over the Bishop of Alexandria, or of the African Churches, only over those of his own Provinces, and that too limited, not to direct or interpose, but to consecrate, or call them to Provincial Councils: For General Councils were called by the Emperourt; Constantine presided at that of Nice, and confirmed the Canons, while the Representatives

### <sup>2</sup> Præf. Concil. Carthag.

\* Ante Nicenam Synodum unusquisqué (de Episcopis loquitur) fibi vixit; et parvus respectus ad Romanam

Ecclesiam habebatur. Æneze Sylv. Ep. 288.

† Sciendum est, quod in universalibus octo Conciliis ubi Imperatores intersuerunt, & non Papa, semper invenio Imperatores et Judices suos cum senatu Primatum habuisse, et officium Presidentiæ per interlocutiones, & ex consensu Synodi, sine mandato, conclusiones et judicia secisse. Card. Cusan. De Concord. Lib. iii. Cap. 16.

Representatives of the Bishop of Rome subscribed after one who fate as superior. Some years after indeed the Bishop of Rome endeavoured to establish a superiority by claiming a right to send his Legates to hear causes in the African Churches: but the Bishops of that district withstood him as having no fuch power. He grounded his pretence on the VIth Canon of that very Council of Nice, which, as the Romanists quoted it, afferted their Pontiff's Supremacy: but the African Bishops alledged, that the Canon fo quoted was forged; and this they proved by authentick copies of it from other Churches, in which no fuch Canon was found . Had the uniform interpretation of the Text abovementioned, and univerfal custom founded on it, given to the Bishop of Rome the Supremacy and right of examining and determining all Causes in all Churches, the Africans could not have disputed it; nor would the Bishop of Rome have had occasion to forge a Canon in the Council of Nice, on which to have built his claim. Had he received that Power by virtue of the promise to Peter, he dishonored the Donor, and weakned his own authority, by grounding it on human indulgence in the Council of Nice: but it is plane the Pope knew nothing of it, the African Bishops knew nothing of it, and the Pope was willing to be indebted to man for it, and attempted to obtain it by forgery.

Their words are so apposite to the Queen's Appeal to Rame, from the Archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, that I shall give them to the Reader, at once to prove the truth in point, and to justify the King's

refusal

Afric. Concil. cap. 105.

refusal to submit his cause to the Pope's judgment. Your Holiness ought to reject those Priests and other Clergymen who apply themselves to you (and if the Clergy are forbidden to apply, much more the Laity) because we no where read that the Canons have taken away this privilege [of judging causes in their own district | from the African Church; and the Nicene Canons do most evidently commit inferior Clergymen and the Bishops themselves to their own Metropolitans. For the Fathers of that · Council were wife and just enough to see, that all Causes ought to be decided in those very places where they have their birth; and that each Province shall not want the light of the Holy Spirit, which is necessary to direct and enable them to do iuffice to their people: especially as every one who thinks himself wronged by the sentence of the Iudges, may have their recourse to the Synod of 4 that Province, or to a National Council. one great rashness in any one of us to believe, that God can inspire by his Spirit one single person to do justice, and deny the same to a great number of, Bishons assembled in a Council? And how can it be imagined that judgment given out of the Country, and beyond the feas, can stand, fince it is often impossible, through age, or sex, or other ime pediments, to transport witnesses? For that any 's should be sent (as Legates) from your Holines's fide, we find decreed by no Synod of the Fathers. As to that which you fent us hither by Faustinus, 2s a part of the Nicens Council, in the truer Con onies which we have received from Holy Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and Reverend Atticus Bishop of Constantinople, taken out of the Originals them-

Elves, we could find no fuch thing. And as for wour Agents and Ministers send them not; grant 4 them not at every man's request, least we feem to o'introduce into the Church, which breathes nothing but humility, the Pomp and Vanity of the Age. The Greek, the Alexandrian, and the Eastern Churches, that is, the Bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Anisch, claimed equal rights, powers, and authorities, in their respective Dioceses (I mean in the larger extent of the word, as comprehending feveral Provinces in their furifdiction) as the Bilhop of Rome did in his; leaving to him a priority of order or precedence. Every City had a Bishop, who was to govern the people under him, independent on any other; this is the power given by Christ to his Apostles; but the Apostolical Canons order every Bishop to acknowledge his Primate, and esteem him as his Head; that is, where many Cities were subject to one Mother City, called the Metropolis, the Bishop of that superior City was called a Primate or Metropolitan; and had authority to ordain or fits pend the other Bishops within his Province, to reconcile differences amongst them, and call them to Synod: This was Apostolical Order, prescribed by the early Successors of the Aposties, called therefore in the Council of Nice, The kexula to, or the antient enflows. Where several Provinces composed one Diocese (in the larger sense of the word) under un' Exarch, the Bishop of that Exarchate or Diouese was called a Patriarch, and had a like power over all those Provinces, as the Metropolitans had in their Provinces. When the Empire became Christian I 4 there

Afric. Concil. cap. 105.

there were Three of thefe Patriarche in the chunch's at Rame, at Alangadria, And , at Antioch ; belief found Infular Churches which had an independency emiany Patriarchate. Of those Patriarchs the Bishoo of Rome was firsh, as being Bishop of the chief City in the whole Empire: but afterward, when Conflanti? neple became the refidence of the Emperour, the Council of Ghalcedon gave its Bishop a Pastriarchate. next to that of Rome, and before that of Alexandria c. granting him low resolves, equal rights and powers: with that of Rome. Neither had authority over the other: but Rame had precedence of fession when they met in Council, and priority of order in the Dypticks when the Governours of the Churches were enumerated. When such authority over otherswas plaimed, by the Bishop of Constantinople, under the Title, which the Pope now challenges, of Unit! versel Bishop. Gregory I. himself condemned the claim as unchriftian; and makes the Primacy of Peter belong to three Churches, Rome, Alexandria, and Antisch, all which he contends are but one See. What answer, says he, writing to the Bishop of Con-it flantinophe, will you make to Christ, the Head of the: Universal Church, in the last judgment, for endea-; vouring, by the appellation of UNIVERSAL, to make to all his members subject to thee? - Yet Gregory's Successor, Boniface, obtained a grant from Phocas, who flew his Mafter and feized the Empire, that Reme should be called the Head of the Church. Such ; was the worthy beginning of this proud anti-christian. Title; and proves at the fame time, that if the Civil Power can give, it may as well also take oway the 2 11 . . Supremacy.

... Greg, Ep. 4.

Subremacvi: And whatever hard names Pole or Ric Biographer may beltow on King Mary, and whatewear his vices may have been, they must allow, that the Kathesiwho denied this Supremacy within his own territories to the Pope, was at least a better King than the Traitor who gave it him. The Greek Church anknowledges his spiritual functions as a Bishop to be derived from Christ : but his Priority in disnity to be only by the concession of his Brether Bishops. and the indulgence of Princes. In like manner the other Patriarche of Alexandria and Antioch denied his anthority over them. Thus we see the general interpretation of the Church, and their general praci tice or custom were directly contrary to what Pole affents; and contradict what I suppose Mr. Phillips affitms, that the Church throughout the Christian World was founded by the Divine Law-giver on the pre-eminence of the See of Rome !: nor need we flop our ears against the question, When did this Supremacy begin, or by what means gain ground? Hiftory enables us to answer it; By the ambition and fraud of Popes, the force of wicked Princes, and the concessions of weak ones: Attempted in some degree by Gregory I. obtained by Beniface III. and confirmed by Gregory VII.

But 'the church in this kingdom had rested on the pre-eminence of the See of Rome, since its first establishment, nine hundred years." Does Mr. Phillips mean, that Christianity had been introduced into this Island only nine hundred years before Henry VIII. and that it was at first established upon the Pope's Supremacy, and had rested on it over since?

4 P. 71. . Thid.

If I am for happy as to hit his meaning, I will not complain of the doubtfulness of his expression, but procede to shew that every branch of this affirmation is false. From the days of Augustin the Monk, to the times he speaks of, were nine hundred years; but there was a Christian Church here long before that time, and a Christian Church which knew nothing of the Pope's Supremacy. And St. Augustin has been reported to have been the occasion of malfaeres ing 1200 Monks at Banger for refusing submission to this novel yoke, as has been before observed. was not in the Patriarchate of the West: and had enjoyed, like other Insular Churches, an independ dency on any Patriarch. Such Cyprus claimed in the Epheline Council, and fuch Britain affersed. And the Pope declared in the affair of Pelagine, that he had no authority to bring Pelagius, being a Britan, before So that two of his inplications are disproved ; the third, that the Pope's Supremacy had been anknowledged here through the intervening mine Cenmaries, may be true in fonce degree, but various, according as the circumstances of times, or the spirit or weakness of Princes permitted or reftrained it. view of which rather belongs to the other Great Queftion, The Regal Supremacy, or Henry's claim of being Head of the Church in England, under Christ.

This claim we are told is contra-s.

5. 16. The ry to all antiquity. Whatever King's Supre-comes of the term itself, the Supremacy.

cy claimed by it is unquestionably as old as Royalty. Among the Greeks let Aristotle witness,

f P. 70.

nels, who tells us, Divine things were committed to Kings, and that He was the Lord or Chief Governour over them\*. Among the Roman laws this was express, that all things belonging to Religion were under the Regal power+. The first Christians, while Rome continued Heathen, are commanded to be subject to the Civil power, to the King as subreme, and to inferior Magistrates as Ministers sent by him; and Peter himself submitted to the Sword of Nera, in that very City where now his Successor usures domination over all the Princes of the Earth. Did their becoming Christian make them forfeit their original superiority, and defer it to the Bishop? As Scripture is confessedly silent in this case, History asfures us, that the fact was otherwise. Socrates tells us, from the time that Emperours became Chris-4 tian, Ecclesiastical matters depended on them? And Chrysoftome calls the Emperour the Supreme and Head over all Men on earth, who has no equals; The Great Alciate himself, a co-temporary of Pole's; bears testimony, ' that there can be no doubt but 6 that in the primitive Church, Emperours had the iurisdiction of Persons and causes Ecclesiastical .

Alciat. in codic. rubric. ff. Eccles. tom. 3, p. 198.

Ο βασιλιθές των πρός τὰς Θιάς κύριος. Ibid lib. ii.

Ta mede rue Gius anodidias reis Austrion. Polit. Ab. žii, c, ς.

<sup>†</sup> Sacrorum omnium potestas sub Regibus esto. † Αφ' δ χρισιανίζειν πρέαντο, τα της εκκλησίας πράγματα त्रिहरेकार हो क्रिंगहर में वर्ष महिलाइका उठाउँका रमें क्रिंगहरू मुख्या שישילים דו אן אויידים.

<sup>§</sup> Baσιλεύς γαις เราะ κοςυφή น) κεφαλή των έπι της γης ανθεώπων. Ad. Pop. Antioch. Hom. ii. p. 28. Edit. Trent. Duc.

We might instance in Conftantine, who called General Councils, confirmed their decrees, rejudged causes tried in Synods, when it was inconvenient to judge in person he delegated Bishops in his stead, and fometimes the Bishop of Rome himself. So that the first Christian Emperour did act as supreme Head in the Church, and the Bishop of Rome himself could not judge by virtue of being Christ's Vicar, and Peter's Successor, and Universal Pastor, but as Delegate to the Emperour h. His Successors in the Empire exercised like authority; I shall instance only in Justinian, who fays, inothing is exempted from the Prince's inquisition, who hath received from God a common regiment, and fovereignty over All men; and those things which concern God must be preserved uncorruptly by the sacred Pre-Iates and Magistrates, but most of all by our Mai jesty, who use not to neglect any divine cause, but labor by all means that our common-wealth (by the favor of the Great God and our Saviour towards men) may reap the fruit of that pureness and integrity, which Clerks, Monks and Bishops, from the highest to the lowest, shall shew forth in keeping the facred Canons and our laws provided in that behalf: which constitutions by this Decree we ftrengthen afresh and ratify i.' No wonder then that Mr. Phillips is so angry with this Emperour, and strengthned by the authority, as he represents him, of a Pagan Writer, Procopius, who at least professed himfelf a Christian, tells us, that ' medling in concerns of Religion was one of the capital faults in f the

Eufeb. Hist. Eccl. lib. x, c, 5. i Novel. Confit, 133.

the character of Justinian. But to Mr. Phillips I hope the opinion of a Pope will be as good as that of an Heathen; for Adrian IV. proposes this Emperour as a great example worthy the imitation of all Princes!. This I acknowledge is only from Bishop Taylor, for I have never feen the Author he quotes: But the fact is certain, I mean the Supremacy of the Emperour over persons and causes Ecclesiastical, whatever Procapius, or Adrian, or Phillips may opine in the matter. As for the argument urged by Pole, that doubtless the less is blessed of the Greater, and therefore the Pope is above the King; we thence might equally infer that every Priest in his Kingdom is above the King; nay more, that every Priest may be above the Pope himself; and this is expressly admitted in their laws, for according to Panermitanus, the Pope is bound to confession, and in that act the Priest is Greater than He\*. But this temporary fuperiority finks with the office.

To pass from the Empire to our own Kingdom: the Britons as we have already seen knew nothing of the Pope's Supremacy; from the revival of Christianity here in the Saxon times, the state was governed upon the principles of the Feudal law, by which the officers of the state, and Proprietors of land sate together in the Courts of Judicature, and among these, Bishops and Abbots, as Barons, with Lay lords and Freemen judged in causes Spiritual and Civil.

k P. 259. 1 Radevin. lib. i. c. 15. de gestis, Fred.

<sup>\*</sup> Papa tenetur confiteri; et in eo actu Sacerdos est major illo: Extra, de pænit, et remiss.

The Norman separated this judicature, assigniing spiritual causes to the spiritual men, and Civil Causes to others. He subjected the clerical lands to civil imposts, from which the Saxon Kings had freed them, and which were grown to be near half of the whole Kingdom, or 28,000 Knights fees out of 62,000: He quartered men upon the Monasteries: and on the Pope's fummoning him to do him homage for England as a Fief of the Holy-See, he said, he held his crown only of God and his Sword, and would not make it dependant on any person living; and forbad his Subjects to receive any orders from Rome without his leave. In succeding times, the power or influences of the Pope prevaled or languished, as the weakness, or firmness, or necessity of the Princes, or the state of the times, furnished occasion. It was now, as the Author of the Church History observes, that the Church and the state began to struggle for power; therefore all new claims of Church power must be suspected as usurpations. And now it was, as Mr. Phillips acknowledges, that Gregory VII. afferted a jurisdiction unknown to the first thousand years of the Christian Era, and undertook to depose a Sovereign; and the Popes who have copied his example, have supposed its lawfule ness and began by facts inflead of proofs .--- By this new system the Pope became a kind of Unie versal Monarch, superior to all others, even with • respect to extent of temporal power; for by acknowledging in him a right, however explaned. to establish and depose Princes, we must fairly own him to be the only true Monarch."-This mistaken principles though opposed by the Norman Conqueror, yet opened a door to many encroachments. which were resulted by the three first Edwards and Richard II. But these Laws slept during the Civil commotions betwixt the Houses of York and Lancafter in the fucceding reigns, which were not entirely suppressed till that of Henry VIIIth. Henry, when he found the Pope no longer of use to him for his political purposes, but domineering over him in confequence of those encroachments, had little more to do, than to revive the Laws of his Ancestors, in order to get rid of the Pope's usurpations: which restrained him from disposing of the English Bishopricks and preferments, from exercifing jurisdiction here by his Legates, or of calling causes to him to Rame by Appeals. Or, if any other temporal privileges or powers had been granted to him voluntarily by the Kings Ancestors, or violently extorted from them, whenever that Will should cease, and a sufficient strength enable him to annul those grants, the Prince was as much justified in recovering his antient natural rights, as his Predecessors were in yielding them away. And this must be admitted upon Mr. Phillips's principles; that this usurpation in Temporals was from a want of knowledge, or an unwillinguess to diftinguish between the nature of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. And that however it might then be maintained by the Pope and his Schoolmen, it is now ' far from making any part of the doctrine of the Catholick Church—the darkness of that undistinguishing age can hardly excuse Gregary's behaviour in this respect: much less can it be cited \* cited as a rule by which others are to act; of as a familian for fach procedings."

. He therefore condemne as an unjust and invalid Act, the Pope's pretending to deprive Henry of his kingdom, to absolve his subjects of their allegiance, and exhorting every body to rife up against him as the declared enemy of God and Mün. How then can' he excuse his Hero, who was the tool and inframent made use of by the Pope to publish this unjust, invalid, and unchristian Bull, and to excite the powerful Princes of Europe to put it into execution against his natural Prince? He attempts to do it by faying, 'whatever the Legate's private opinion might' have been of the Pope's depoling power, in gee neral; certain it is that he never instigated the Courts to which he was fent, to act in consequence of it. Of the truth of this he himself, in a most formal declaration to Edw. VI. whose Ministers: could not have been ignorant of fo recent a fact, is . a voucher above exception. P' Here the Cardinal throws dust in King Edward's eyes, and Mr. Phillips in those of his Readers. The Cardinal speaks of his first Embassy, before the Bull of deposing the King was published, that he only defired them bytheir perfuations and admonitions to endeavour at reclaiming a fallen Brother; and if that did not do. he owns he advised them to add threats; but went no Of his fecond Embassy he says nothing: when he was to perfuade the Emperour and French King, no longer to fuffer King Henry unpunished torage against God and those Saints, which had been ....

P. 240. P. 237. P P. 243,

long worthipped by the whole Kingdom. For their guide and leader, he was to acquaint them, that they had his Holiness, who had set them an example. which they were to follow, in publishing a Bull to depose Henry of his Crown, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance. Such was his Come mission; on this errand he set out; and if he did not instigate the Courts to which he was sent, to act in confequence of it, it was because the Emperour would not give him leave to do it, but ' received the Legate with coldness, and signified to him that the f present juncture was unseasonable for the execution of what the Pope required; and advised him to go to France, and found the dispositions of that ' Court.9' The Cardinal at last saw he was made the Dupe of fluffling politicks, and fuspecting the like infincerity at France, returned to lay before the Pope the whole state of this Embassy, as glorious as his last to Flanders.

Thus we have Mr. Phillips himself condemning this pretented Vicar of Christ, who, contrary to his Matter's will, and the practice of his Apostles, assumed to be the Umpire and Disposer of States and Kingdoms. How guilty then must appear the devoted instrument of Tyranny, employed to execute K

## ₫ P. 250.

Demum persuadere suz majestati ut omni cura velis incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram religionem; nec ulterius pari Regeza illum impune sevire in Deum, et in Sanctos, tamdiu à se et a toto Regno cultos. Ad quam rem habebit ducem authoritatem Apostolicz sedis, et S. D. N. qui ut monstraret viam in hâc re, quam alii Principes sequantur, publicavit Bullam, &c. Instructio Cardin. Polo. Quirini, vol. ii. p. cclxxx.

the sentence of an unchristian Usurper, against his own natural Lord and Master, against his oath of firdelity and allegiance, under the highest personal obligations that ever Subject had to a King, and this through many years continuance, even after repeted offences? Is this a Spectacle, the most worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath the Seats in Blifs? But Mr. Phillips has the hardiness, in spite of his own concessions, to justify both the Usurper and his Minister: ' the principles on which the Pope proceded. fays he, were drawn from that univerfal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the ' spiritual welfare of each part of the Church, and e gave him a Right to use such means as are proper to ' effect it." Such are the arts of a Popish Biographer; who to bespeak favor, least his loyalty should be impeached, declares, that the Pope's power to depose Princes is an usurped jurisdiction, not given by Christ, that the doctrine is uncatholick, and no Professor would be allowed to maintain it: yet scruples not to acknowledge, that the Pope's univerfal fuperintendence, watching over the spiritual welfare of each part of the Church, gives him a Right to use such means as he thinks proper to effect it; so that deposing of Kings, and disposing of States and Kingdoms become lawful, whenever judged necesfary. Of what value or fignificance are such concessions and protestations? We can neither argue. nor live, securely upon them. Whether this Chamipion has permission from his Superiors, in order, to deceive us, to say, that the power of deposing Princes was rather supposed by some Popes than proved; and that

this opinion is no part of the doctrine of the Catholick Church: or whether it proceded from his own adventurous wit, I cannot say. If the latter, and if he means what he fays, let him beware of herefy in the judgment of his Church; for as fuch Bellarmine censures his opinion\*, and Baronius calls it the herefy of Politicians . Yet, as he elsewhere explanes this concession away, and by allowing the Pope an universal superintendence, which gives him a Right to use such means as are proper, his opinion may be ' the "universal one of all Catholicks, that the Pope as Pope has not, directly and immediately, any temoperal power, only a spiritual: but by virtue of his \* spiritual power he has, at least indirectiv, some e power in temporals, and that too superior to any one's ellet.' So that the Gentleman has only endeayoured to impose upon us: and must be either an Heretick in the Church of Rome, or a Rebel to the King of Great Britain.

So apt are men from the power of excommunicating Princes to infer a power of depoling them! Whence one would be apt to suspect that Popes or Bishops have not a power of excommunicating Prin
K 2 ces.

#### Ann. 1073, 4. 13.

Altera non tam sententia quam hæresis, Pontissem ut Pontissem ex jure divino nullam habere potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare Principibus sæcularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare. Bellarm. v. 1.

3 Sententia media, et Cathelicorum communis, Pontiscem ut Pontissem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem; tamen ratione Spiritualis habere saltem indirecte potestatem quandam, eamq; summam in temporalibus. Bellarm. v. 1.

ces. This indeed Mr. Phillips will by no means admit: 15 If the (Pope's) sentence extended no further (than to excommunication) its justice and validity could never have been called in question. Yet he knows and confesses that it was called in question in the case of Henry IV. the Emperour; and that when he fays, Gregory VII. was the first who afferted a jurisdiction, unknown to the first thousand years of the Christian Era, and undertook to depose a Sovereign, he might have added that the same busy medling Pope was the first that ever excommunicated a Christian Prince. As we are informed by Otho of Frisingen\*, Godfrey of Viterbo, and Onuphrius. But the Pope had no difficulty to demonstrate that the power of looling and binding was granted to the Church without any restriction " with respectto Princes. And that it is the triumph of Chrissianity, that one of the greatest Emperours the World ever obeyed, submitted to the confure of the Church. -- Nay it feems! more than barely probable, that whilest Romewas yet Pagan, one, of her. Sovereigns gave the like instance of the Gospel Spirit, which in a novice in the School of Christ. as Philip was, is still more admirable, than the example of Theodosius. The case of Philip I shall pais over, as of doubtful credit at the best; and, if admitted, it will furnish no instance of excommunication. Neither will the well known flory of Theoarms works

<sup>e</sup> P. 237. \* P. 239. \* P. 238.

Lego et relego Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam ante hune à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel régno privatum. Otho. Frifing. Chron. lib vi. cap. 35.

dolius prove it better. They were only exclusions from the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church voluntarily submitted to on their parts; nor were these exclusions made by the Pope in either case, but by the Diocelan of the place; who, doubtless, has a power from Christ by virtue of his office to reject from a participation of the Sacraments the impenitent. without respect of persons: but excommunication confifts of two more parts, a prohibition of the faithful from conversing or communicating with the perfon excommunicated; and fome temporal inconveniences and punishments: the latter, being only by permission of the Prince, it is absurd to think of exercifing against him: And the other, if it is in the power of the Diocesan, must put it in the Diocesan's power to depose his Prince; for, if he can oblige his Subjects not to serve or obey him, (which they cannot do if they must have no communication with him,) a Prince, who can have no fervice or obedience paid him, is effectually deposed. Therefore the doctrine before the time of Gregory VII. even upon the testimony of that very St. Ambroft, who is (falsely) represented as excommunicating Theodofias, was, that Princes pri-"villeged by their Empire, are not by any laws called to perrande. To the greater excommunication indeed, Princes as well as others are subject; but then the effects are purely spiritual, and cannot discharge the materal and civil obligations of a Child to his Pareat ton a Subject to his Soucreign. Let, bim be unto "the as an Heathen, not only leaves us at liberty, if he be our Prince, but obliges us, to obey him and - K 1 pray

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Neque enim. ullis ad pænam vocantur legibus, tuti Triperit pesettate. In Pfalin li. v. 4.

pray for him. Still more unchristian and inessectual was this sentence, as it was issued in revenges because the King confined the Bishop of Rome according to the old Canons to his own district, and appointed the Bishop of his Province, according to the same Canons, to determine cases in the places where they rose.

For the Cardinal his Biographer has another excuse: 6 he had been declared a Traytor for causes, which in their nature, do not feem to come under the Article of Treason - that is, he had refused to come home when commanded by the King ; he fled in direct disobedience to a positive command to the King's enemy; he engaged in Embassies to disturb the King's peace; he folicited a bank for the encouragement and support of Rebels in opposition to the Laws enacted by the King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in Parliament: in consequence of which treasonable practices he was declared a Traytor, and a price fet upon his head. How far that price might influence Ruffians to attempt his life, or Pole's apprehensions might magnify the danger, I cannot say; neither is improbable. · He had the precedent of the Barons, who called over the Dauphin of France, to free them from the frantick Tyranny of King John, -- But Poles copposition was against both the King and his Barons too, the undoubted Supreme Power in the Kingdom. He had also ' the precedent which hapof pened in his own times, of Henry VIL who though an alien to the Crown, was chosen by the unanimous consent of the nation to rescue them from

\* P. 242. 7 P. Ibid.

\* From the apprecian of Richard IIL'-If this, and \* the inear alliance he had to the crown, which he presently after adds, were among his motives. Mr. Billips acknowledges, what I contend for, that not religious, but political and ambitious views, drove him for violently from his original efteem for the King, which nearness of blood had implanted, and uncommon obligations should have encreased. many other reasons, as wild and unjustifiable as these, he adds the undeferved ruin in which Henry, about " this time, involved his family, and the other agrevations, with which his personal wrongs were 4 attended, feem to have left him more at large as to 4 the expedients, which were to rescue his Country from such oppressions. 2'-At the time he mentions. his family were fafe and unmolested; and consequently the subsequent punishment that fell upon them could be no motive to transactions in which he thad engaged before. And how little they were able to influence him appears in his extraordinary behaviour on the nows he afterwards received of the condemnation of most of his family, when he difscourfed on his misfortunes, as if he had no perfo-Smal interest in them, and seemed only concerned for the publick calamity. And again, when he had of the execution of his Mother, the news of which met him in his retirement together with a packet of other dispatches; these he appears to have read over, as his Secretary Beccatelli relates, who was then alone with him, with as much indifference as we should now the papers of the day: He delivered them to his Secretary f. as his cultom was to rer .3: K 4

\* P. 243. P. 249.

furn the answers. In putting them together Meat s catelli perceived one to be in English, and told himse he need not take that as he did not understand the To which the Cardinal coolly replied without the least emotion, I could wish yourdid, that you might read the good news it wontains; and on the Secretary's replying. I hope wome Esta cellence will make men partaker uf it in Hisherten fays he, I have thought myself indebted to the dix. vine goodness for having received my hirth from; one of the most noble and virtuous Women in Engin and; but, from henceforward, my obligation will be much greater, as I understand that I am now the Son. of a Martyr. " Then relating the tragical account he had received of his Mother's being beheaded, with; reflections on the King that were falle\*: the Secretary. although a stranger, was seized with surprise and horror, at the relation; but the Cardinal, her Sony: who must be conscious that he had been the occasion: of her death, whose earness intreaties to pity her age and not expose her to ruin by his rash procedings he had rejected, read the account of her death mithout: any, differnable, amotion is though the account was: fuch, that, his own relation of it flacked his Secretary, and hurts me in the reading even at this distance of time; to see, in imagination, than seey head of feventy, gashed and mangled by the irregu-The energy array of property of the second none mill in lar. The the charge's

Namely, that he caused her to be beheaded for her Constancy in the Catholick faith, whereas she died for encouraging Rebols; and that she was the neuroff to him in blood, which the pedigree will shew to be sale, the Earl of Devonshire's Son being before her. What credit then is to be given to Pole, when his evidence is unsupported?

[ (437 ]

fac Grobos: afoste sixe, to which her midiforetion its fusical solosubanies all this His Roman Apathy bore without the fenfible contern, with this coof reflection to his Secretary, " be of good courage, we have now one Patron more added to those we already . Had in Heaven. The Biographer then contrasts the executive grief of Tilly on the death of his daughteerwith this illustrious infensibility of Pole; and confines, o as it justly deserves, the implety of the former, 11 changing her into a Godders, and giving digine chonors to her, addressing a prayer to her in that outality of But blameable as the Roman Conful was all both respects, the comparisons does no honor thuthe Roman Cardinal : The Pagan felt at least; the Chaffian was without hatural affection: and the involver of adding one Patron more to those they already baden Heaven was alike in both. Yet this Man, fo much above the feelings of nature, that he refused a tentito the memory of his Mother, whose venerable head his own obtinacy had brought to the axe, though her death was arrended with uncommon circumfunces of horror, from her own ill-judged renitency mand who, on the condemnation of her and his Brother, behaved with that fortitude, that he difcoursed on his migfortunes as if he had no personal interest in them, yet when called by the Pope to Rome, from an agreeable recess with his friend Sadelet at Carpentijas, he writes to Confareni to intercede with his Holiness that he may not be forced to attend the Celebrities at Rome, at a time, when the calamities of his friends had so sunk his spirits that he. tould be of no use is any body, and was a burshen े एकटाइडे झा छ

P. 314.

to himself. He observes, it was usual to allow some ceffation from publick business to those who had toft either a Parent, a Wife, or a Child; with how much more reason might he, who had soft, almost in the same instant, all who were dearest to him, claim this exemption ! nay, he fays, it would be indecent in him not to claim it; even if he was to challenge an exemption for the rest of his life, he thinks the calamities of his family and country would justify him, or rather make it become his duty to give himself up entirely to prayers and tears . Either his infentibility at one time, or his excess of forrow at another, which disqualified him for business: and would not permit him to go to Rome when called by the Pope, was affected: The first was in his closet, as it were behind the scenes; the latter when he came upon the stage, excusing himself to the Pope; it was here therefore, most likely, that he wore the mask. On a second summons he pulls it off and speaks undifguifedly to his Friend Contareni. discovering that his true reason for not coming to Rome was his terrible apprehenfions of danger from Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had undertaken to get him dispatched in Rome, or its environs. He therefore begs and earnestly intreats, if it may so' please his Moliness, to whole service he devotes his whole life. that he may not be obliged (especially as he was publickly expected) to come to the very flaughter house that his Enemy had deflined for him\*. Here again

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Pol. vol. ii. Ep. 80.

Postulo et slagito, si ita tamen ejus Sanstitați videatur, cujus semper obedientiæ vitam concesserim, po mihi necesse

he endeavours to cover his pufilanimity by declaring, if it may be to God's glory, he cares not how foon he is called out of the world. But he is very folicitous to keep out of harms way.

His government at Viterbo I am unacquainted with, and therefore acquiesce in Mr. Phillips's account, and join with him in applauding his gene-

rosity to the Niece of the Marchioness of Pescara: and I wish we had been able to discern that mildness and tenderness to those whom the Cardinal and Mr. Phillips are inclined to call Hereticks, when he came to be the most conspicuous Personage as a Statesman in the reign of Philip and Mary. And that he had not dipped his hands so deep in the blood of his Countrymen, that his cruelties in England might atone for his mercies at Viterbo.

But if we enquire into his intimacies we shall see reason to account for his gentleness to Protestants at Viterbo, from his savorable opinion of their doctrines, which drew him under such suspicions as made him think it necessary to say to the other extreme, in England, in order the more effectually to wipe them off.

The feeds of affection for them were early planted from a similitude of manners which united him to those who could not approve the hypocrify and corruptions of the Church. This drew on a mutual regard betwirt him and Erasmus, and inclined the latter to recommend him to the acquaintance

necesse fir tam citò (maxime cum adventus meus Romz expectetur) ad locum prædæ ab inimico et infidiatore destinatum venire. Ibid. Ep. 83. tance of John à Losso: this led Pole to single out M. H. Flaminius, at his sirst studying at Padua, where Flaminius was reminent for poetry, eloquence, and philosophy. At the same time Peter Martyr studies at Padua with great reputation, when, it is probable, Pole's known acquaintance with him commenced. Of these four, Erasmus is represented as laying the eggs which Luther hatched; Peter Martyr and John à Lasso were prosessedly Protestants; and Flaminius, if Mr. Phillips will give us leave to credit a Pope more than himself, in spite of Pole's pretended conversion of him, lived a secret savorer of them, and died in their faith\*.

The same disposition led Pole to the acquaintance of Contareni, Sadelet, and Bembo; all suspected of inclining to the Protestant Doctrines in some points: but being Italians, they were great Advocates for the power of the Pope, to whom, as Metropolitan of Rome, they owed obedience. From an early piety Pole was disposed to wish for a Resognation; but from his intimacy with them, sought it only under the superintendance of the Bishop of Rome: more especially when he found means, through their influence, to engage the power of the Pope to second his private views in bringing Henry to terms. Even at the time that he entered into the Pope's service he

Paulum, tunc Cardinalem Caraffam, morienti (Flaminio) adflitisse, et cum de Flaminii, quem alioqui difigebat, side dubitasset—Thuan. Hist. lib. viii. adann. 1551.—Quid de éo senseri Paulus IV. patet ex catalogo hareticorum et librorum prohibitorum ejus auspiciis Roma anno 1559. constato editoq;—In eo enim damnantur, M. A. Flaminii paraphrases et Comment. in Psalmos item litera et carmina omnia. Schelhorne Amenit. Hist. Ectlest vol. ii. p. 38.

was fo much a Reformer, as to concur with his Collegues in censuring the Papal Tyranny, and the lucrative discipline of the Church of Rome. The very points which had been long and loudly complained of by the Protostants, who, unable to obtain any redress, found themselves obliged to come out of Babylon, and reject her imposed yoke that they might be at liberty to reform those abuses. Had Pole at that time been at liberty; had the Princess Mary died with her Mother, before he fent his book to the King, or received the Hat of his Holineis as a retaining fee, there appears nothing in the disposition of Pele, but that he might have returned to England, and entered into all the measures of his Prince; and Starky's Letter confirms this opinion, as does also the account prefixed by Vergerius to the Treatise de Unitate Ecclesiaffica, where it is faid, that when Pole was at Auflurgh, in Germany, to was lodged in the Lutheran Pastor's House, to whom he professed, that he did very well allow and agree unto all their Doctrine; and that he would declare no less, if there were any Convocations or Common Councils holden: but temporal confiderations drew him, with great incon-Aftency, to strengthen that tyranny, which he acknowledged to be oppressive; and to confirm the difcipline, of which he complained as contrary to the Gospel.

From this time he was, with respect to the Supremacy, a violent Papalin; but still sensible of other dangerous errors in that Church. An instance of this conviction appears, about this time, in his joining with the Cardinals Gonzaga, Contarent, Fregoli, and Rembo, in an application to the Pope, to take off the filence which the Neapolitans had imposed on Mare

Martyr not to preach, because he had interpreted the capital Text in St. Paul, on which they build their Purgatory fire, in another sense. The above mentioned Fregose, Atchbishop of Salernum, was one of Pole's Collegues in the Counsel given to Paul III. and was (greatly against his will) created a Cardinal. He was so much suspected by the Pope of savoring the Protestant cause, that it was a common report; that he was taken off by poyson for that reason.

Soon after, Pole entered on his government: which leads us to take a view of his Viterbo Society. In the foremost degree of intimacy we find M. A. Flaminius before mentioned, who had been instructed in the doctrines of the Protestants by Valdes the Spaniard. Mr. Phillips relates that ' he had imbibed at Naples the tenets of Valdes, with whom he had contracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned. to Rome a profelyte to his impious fystem; and that Cardinal Pole invited him to pass some time at Viterbo, where he disposed him gradually to return to the Catholick Doctrine, to which he, ever afe ter. stedfastly adhered. Sands indeed in his Biblioth. Antitrinit. claims Valdes as a Socinian: but there is no evidence of it, that I know of. His friend Bernard Ochin was one doubtless; but did not discover any thing of it till above twenty years after the death of Valdes: So that Lutheranism was the impious system in which Valdes instructed Flaminius. That Pole brought him back to the Catholick Doctrine. to which he ever after stedfastly adhered, appears not to be true on the tostimony of Pope Paul IV, who,

Simleri vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 8, 10. f Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 91. Not. m. F. 300.

while Cardinal, in the days of his severer life, loved Flaminius, and affisted him with kind offices on his death bed in Pole's palace at Viterbo; but suspected then that he died not in the faith of the Church of Rome. Of which he grew more and more satisfied, insomuch that, being Pope, he condemned his books to the stance; a sentence which he said the Author himself deserved; and he was with difficulty prevaled upon not to dig up his bones, and burn them\*.

Peter Carnefeca, formerly in the family of Clement VII. lived in strict friendship with Flaminius at Viterbo, by whom, as well as by Valdes and Ochin he had been instructed at Naples in the purer religion, and died a Martyr to it by the Inquisition at Rome in 1567: part of the charge against him was, for conversing familiarly with the Sectaries in Germany; and in Italy with Victoria, Marchioness of Pescara, that celebrated Lady, who was so eminent a part of the Viterbo Society, and with Julia Gonzaga; both of them of distinguished characters, and both suspected of heretical pravity.

Connected

† Qui (Carnelecius) Romam productus, acquiante cum Achille Statio, Lustano, homine non illiterato, sed prostitutæ

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Cum anno 1550 Paulus IV. Pont. Rom. celebraret in suo cubiculo una cum sex duntaxat inquisitoribus concilium claudestinum, quod sub nomine Catalogi Hæreticorum surens in Lutheranos immist, hunc quoque librum Psalmorum Flaminii inter scripta hæretica expressé retulit, dignumq; arrogantissimè judicavit, qui cum auctore sancto viro sammis in perpetuum aboleatur,—Paulum verò IV. tam suisse piis etiam Flaminii manibus infestum, refert Joachimus Camerarius, ut consilium corperit, ejus pridem demortui corpus de basto eruendi, atq; in profluentem projiciendi. Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.

Connected with them was Galeas Canacciolis, who for the fake of religion retired to Genera, and there Flaminius, in a Latter which he wrote to him from Viterbo, Feb. 14, 1543, tells him, that the Legate (Pole) loved him as his most dear Breeher in Christ, and would thankfully embrace every opportunity, that Providence should supply him with, totestify by facts the affection he had for himt.

Under like suspicion of heresy fell his friend Cardinal Morone; against whom Articles were exhibited, of which the 18th was, that he had industriously distributed a book, entitled The Benefit of Christ, recommending it to an heretical Bookfeller, to fell the Copies to as many as he could, and to give others away to the poorer fort, charging them to his account. Of which Tract, Pole himself, among cothers, was reputed to be the Author. He certainly defended and encouraged the book; as also did his closely connected friends Flaminius, Priuli, and other Disciples of hist.

The

prostitutæ sidei, qui Carnesechio ab epistolis fuerat; convictusq; quod cum sectariis in Germania, et in Italia cum Victoria Columna, Marchionis Pifeatii vidua, et Julia Gonzaga, lectifimis alioqui fæminis, de pravitate sectaria suspectis, amicitiam coluisset, tandem ad ignem damnatus eft. Thuanus, ad ann. 1566.

1 Reverendissimus Legatus (Polus) te amat tanquam dilectissimum fratrem in Christo, et gratisima ci est quevis occasio quæ offeratur divinitus ad declarandum re ipsa amorem suum. Flam. Epist. ad Gul. Caracciolum in

Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 132.

+ Imò dicam amplius Reginaldum Polum istius Moroni amicum fummum, existimari ejus libri autorem, aut bonam partem in eo habere ; saltem certum est illum defendisse et promovisse cum suis Flaminiis, suis Priulis, allisq; alumnis. Schelhorne Amen. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 156.

The true Author of that Book Schelhorne believes to have been another intimate acquaintance of Pole's, Amius Palearius, who suffered at Rome under the Pontificate of Pins V. for calling off Men's confidence from the merit of their own works to place it on a faith in the merits of Christ. h

Immunuel Tremellius was a known Protestant, converted from Judaism to embrace Christianity in Pole's Palace at Viterbo, where he was baptized, the Cardinal and Flaminius being his Godfathers.

Many others there were, either professed or sulpected Protestants of his Society and familiarity; fome denied Transubstantiation, some believed it ; fome renounced the Pope, others adhered to him; forme bravely professed and died for the truth; some lived in exile for it; others diffembled the doctrines they believed, to keep their lives and their honors: but all agreed in this point, that the security built on the merit of our own works, especially such painted works as the Roman Church built upon, was a dangerous fecurity; and that our Justification was owing folely to the merits and fatisfaction of Chrift, apprehended by faith, on the conditions by him required. As to the Pope's Supremacy, Pole was too much interested in it, to doubt of it. And his addrefs kept many from that open profession which they were inclined to make: of which Vergerius, who knew him and his communications, gives us the following relation; Pole perswaded many of those concealed Protestants, that they might satisfy themselves with their secret knowledge, and not only bear with, but confent to the errors and abuses of the Church, exgridsog

Amæn. Hift. Ecclef. tom. i. p. 155, 159.

pecting till God should remove them by such methods as should seem sittest to him. Such counsely Vergerius observes, suited those who were for sollowing Christ, but without his Cross: accordingly Pole doubted not to assert, that the pure doctrine might be professed in silence, dissimulation, and slight. And when the zeal and servor of some could not be bridled by such restraints, some of his closest adherents would declare, that Pole only waited for a seasonable opportunity to discover openly the secrets of his heart. By which means many were persuaded, that he would, some time or other, ingenuously profess the truth before the Pope himself, and the whole City of Rome\*.

After the deaths of Contareni, Fregose, Sadolet, Bembo, Flaminius, the Countess of Pescara, and others

\* Quiq; (Polus) agnoscebat, vel saltem agnoscere se simulabat, hominem per solam sidem in Christum justificari, idq; cum multis aliis, quos in domum suam receperat, --- plures docebat. --- Quânam autem existimatione ac auctoritate persuadere aliis contendebat, hominem secretà illà cognitione acquiescere debere, nec rationem ipsi errorum et abusuum ecclesiæ habendam? imò docebat, eos esse tolerandos, ac nostrum iis confenfum haud denegendum, expectandumq; donec illos Deus iis, quæ maximè idoneæ fuerint visæ, occasionibus sublatum iverit. Probé autem nostis, hujusmodi disciplinam iis arrifisse, qui Christum sine cruce desiderant .- Polus tamen puram doctrinam proferri tacendo. distimulando, et sugiendo potuisse asserere non dubita-Sed aliquid adhuc pulchrius audite. Si forte quis animi fervidioris has cohibitiones et refrenationes graviter ferret, responderunt cultores ejus studiosissimi. idoneum illum expectare tempus, et aliquando arcana cordis in propatulum prolaturum : quo factum est, ut nonnulli sibi persuaderent, eum veritatem aliquando coram Pontifice et universa urbe Romana candidè professurum. Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 20, 21.

bethers, he lost those who might have strengthened him in the opinions of the Reformed; and also as many Witnesses, who might have shamed and restrained him from deserting to the old corruptions. At the same time sinding himself strongly suspected of Lutheranism, and perhaps dreading the sate of Cardinal Fregose, and others, he endeavoured to wash away the suspection of heresy from himself in England, by the streams of protestant blood which he shed here in great plenty.

In 1542 the long promifed and as §. 17. A long delayed Council was called at General Coun-cil demanded by Trent: which continued, with its in-Luther and o tervals of prorogation, to the year 15641. As Cardinal Pole had at the beginning a respectable part in it. as third Legate in the year 1542, and as first Legate in 1545, his Biographer has thought it proper to his design, though not to his strict rules of Biography. laid down in the Preface, to break our attention, which should be collected and fixed on its Subject, with a long detail of a transaction, in which his Hero ceased to be concerned many years before his death; and which continued many years after it. As he thought it of importance to his scheme to give us this long detail, I cannot refuse to the Reader my own trouble in examining, whether he has done justice, or not. in his representation.

He acknowledges the great want of a Reformation in the Head and Members of the Church, complained of from the days of St. Bernard in the twelfth Century

P. 424.

tury and Durandus in the next, to the time of the Council of Trent. In faying Durandus prepared matters to be discussed in the Council of Vienna, we will suppose the error rather to belong to his Printer in the private press at Oxford, than to himself; it should be Vienne in France. But Mr. Phillips obferves, none ever entertained a thought of changeing a fingle article of her Faith or abolishing any onart of her worship: and that they desended the authority of her Pastors, and particularly of her chief Bishop.k' The temporal tyranny of this chief Bishop, for the purposes of rapine and plunder; and his spiritual prostitution in the marketings of Grace, teaching that it might be purchased for money, were abundantly complained of during this interval. Even Bernard himself in a Letter to the Pope opposes his temporal jurisdiction\*. In the very year that Luther began to publish his Theses against Indulgences, Ulric Hutten, in a Preface which he wrote to Leo X. inveighs bitterly against them, for exposing the Grace of God to sale, for fixing rates for the purchase of the remission of Sins, and for finding out a method of turning the torments of Hellto their own filthy lucre: becoming wolves inflead of shepherds to their flocks. It is true, he afterwards

# k P. 320.

Lego Apolizios judicandos fedifie, judicantes non lego...quid falcem vertram in alienam messem extendis? Bern. de considerat. ad Eugen. Lib. r. c. 6.

† Hi fuerunt, qui in minimo arreptà occasione, ad immensum progressi sunt diripiondi licentia, qui gratias venum exposuerunt...qui in peccatorum remissione pretium statuerunt, et in panis inferorum invenerunt sibi. lucrum...

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wards joined Luther : but Guiccardine was of their rown Communion, who testifies, that in that depraved age, a Pope obtained the character of an honest man, if he was not a greater villain than the rest of the world+. And for the Century preceding, Mr. Phillips owns ' it had the misfortune to see most, (he had on occasion to soften it to several 1) of the Popes during that period altogether unworthy the Suoreme place they held. m. Bellarmine himself tells us, that for some years before Luther's heresie began, there was little or no strictness in the Ecclesiaffical Courts, no discipline for the regulation of manners, no skill in the Scriptures, no reverence in divine worship, in short scarce any religion at allt. No wonder then, if serious Christians wished for a reformation, and if feveral in feveral places attempted it, as far as they could.

Among the latter, Luther, from his uncommon fortitude, was the most remarkable. On him there-

• 3

#### <sup>1</sup> See Errata in vol. ii. <sup>m</sup> P. 322.

erum...non pastores suerunt illi, inquam, sed Lupi. Ulr. Hutteni Præsatio, præmissa libello, quo Laur. Vallæ de donatione Constantini declamationem resellit. Decemb. 1, 1517.

† In nostris depravatis moribus, tunc in Pontifice probitas laudatur, quum cæterorum hominum nequitiam

non excedir, Histor. Lib. xvi.

7 Annis aliquot, antequam Lutherana et Calvinistica hæresis oriretur, nulla serme erat, ut ii testantur, qui etiam tune vivebant, nulla inquam prope erat in judiciis Ecclesiasticis severitas, nulla in moribus disciplina, nulla in sacris literis eruditio, nulla in rebus divinis reverentia, nulla propemodum jam erat Religio. In Concione xxviii. die Deminica Lætere Opp. T. vi. Col. 296. edit. Colon. 1617.

fore Mr. Phillips fixes, and is very liberal indeed in reproaching him, whenever he comes in his way. When he first introduces him he tells us. The . Tenets he advanced had not been known in any s prior age of the Christian Church; or if ever they were set on foot, had never failed of being condemned as repugnant to what antiquity had always held." I shall pass over this seeming inaccuracy. as if any prior ages could condemn Tenets which were not known to them; because I find it is a mode of expression borrowed from the eloquent Reginald himself, who, in his tract de Unitate Ecclesiastica, acquaints the King, that the opinion (of the Regal · Supremacy,) was either first devised by the English, and never heard of before; or, if it ever was broached (which he thinks it never was) it was prefently condemned together with its Author by the general confent of every good man\*. Now how he came to be so sure that every good man had condemned an opinion of which he is perfuaded that good man never heard, appears somewhat strange. If we examine these Tenets themselves as published in Luther's first ninety-five Propositions, I presume they were neither unknown, nor repugnant to some prior ages of Christianity; Mr. Phillips acknowledges they were against the scandalous traffick of Indulgences, grant-

n P. 25.

Dux (sententia) vel nunc primum excogitata à vobis, nova omnium auribus accidit; vel si quando à quopiam prolata est (quod equidem vix puto) sed ut suerit prolata, statim optimi cujusque consensu explosa, et cum authore suo damnata. De Unitate Eccles. lib. i. vol. 12. à tergo.

ed by the Pope to enrich his Treasury. 'He began by blaming the abuse, and then proceded to condemn the thing. " He maintained that the Pope, by his Indulgences, could release no punishments but what he inflicted: or that they could only be a relaxation of penalties inflicted by the Church: that, the Dead being not subject to Canonical Penances, Indulgences could affect only the Living, the Dead in Purgatory could not be delivered thereby. Contrary to the Doctrine of Tetzelius, that the Souls in purgatory flew to heaven the very instant the money. paid for their deliverance, chinked in the cheft+: That with respect to the Living, Indulgences cannot remit the least venial Sin in respect of the guilt: that contrition can procure remission of the fault without Indulgences, but Indulgences without Contrition cannot: that Christians are to be exhorted not to prefer them before good works, but to feek pardon of their fins, by the pains and labor of penance, rather than to discharge them without reason P. The doctrines, on which the new Indulgences were built, Sylvester Prierias himself admits are not discovered to us by the Scripture, but by the authority of the Church of Rome and its Pontiffs\*. So that by the confession of the Romanists themselves, this doctrine L 4 **W**2S

## • P. 324. P See Dupin. 16 Cent.

† Quod statim ut jactus nummus in cistam tinniverit, anima in cœlum evolet. Which Sylvester de Prierio calls meram ac catholicam veritatem. Ipsius Dialog. apud Loescherum, p. 23.

"Eas authoritate scriptura nobis non innotuisse, sed authoritate Ecclesia Romana, Romanorumq; Pontiscum. Tp. Dialog. ap. Loeschar. p. 33. ex Gerdeso, vol. i. p. 208.

was new at least, if not falle, it being not toucht in scripture, nor known before the days of Urben IV. that the guilt of fin might be remitted for money. So that the absolute singleness of the Christian Sustems had admitted some change at Rome, since the dave of Procopius. And the reply of Cardinal Cufamus to the Bohemians, admits such changes to happen, while he justifies them; ' that word of God is best, which is least agreeable to Scripture: nay, the Scriptures themselves are to be changed by a commediaus interpretation according to the practice of the Church: for the Church changing her decrees, the will of God must be changed toot. Thus we fee Luther had truth on his fide when he censured fuch unferiptural doctrines; and reason in guarding against the fatal fecurity which might arife to the Purchafers of fuch delutive Indulgences. This is acknowledged by the grave and learned of the Romanists themfelves, Surius fays, in the beginning, Luther sp-· f peared to most grave and learned men not to have been moved by any blamcable zeal; and to have intended nothing else but, the Reformation of the 6 Church, whose scandalous abuses all good men did not a little resent . And Caspar Ulenberg of

P. 260.

† Tanto dignius verbum Dei tradi, quanto ab omni scriptura remosius. Explicandam Scripturam esse juxta currentem Ecclesiæ ritum, qua sententiam mutante, Dei etiam judicium mutetur. Card. Cusan, Ep. vii. ad Rohemos. ex Gerdesio, vol. i. p. 32.

In ipfis hujus tragediæ initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerifu; viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimo zelo: moveri, planeq; nihil spessare aliud, quam Resor-

the fame Communion freely confesses, which (he says) must be confessed whether they will or no, that Littler did not reprehend without reason the vices of those who should have taken the care of souls; for many of them sought not the sheep, but the sleece; not the flock, but the fat of the flock.

But Mr. Phillips, swimming with the common Aream of the later Writers in his Church, which has also drawn with them many Protestants, too implicitly giving credit to them, informs us, that ' this publication of Indulgences had occasioned a warm dispute between the Austin and Dominican Friars. The former, who had hitherto been in possession 6 of the commission, were piqued that the Dominicans should, on this occasion, be preferred to them; and John Staupitz, their Vicar General, ordered " Martin Luther, a Monk of the Order, to preach in opposition to their Rivals." And thus without a more diligent inquiry it had appeared to me : but on a more caroful examination this common report is found to be quite contrary to truth. The first broacher of this seandal was Cochlaus, in his Commentaries on Luther's Actions and Writings from

### \* P. 324. \* Life of Bp. Ridley, p. 41.

Reformationem, eujus quidam deformes abulus non parum malè habebant bonos omnes. Surius in Comment. rerum in orba gestarum ad ann. 1517, ex Gerdesto, vol. i. p. 09.

+ Fatemur liberè (enimverò velimus nolimus) non fine caufà vicia corum, qui animarum curam agere debebant, à Luthero fuisse reprehensa. Multi enim non oves, sed lanam, non gregem sed adipem gregis quærebant. Vid. Gerdesi, vol. i. p. 99. the year 1517 to 1546, published after Luther's death.

Peter Fischer, in a Dissertation lately published at Gottingen, observes, none of the Popes, Emperours or Princes in their Letters, Mandates, Bulls, Decrees, or Edicts, published on this occasion, make any mention of this motive to provoke Luther: nothing of it appears in his disputation with Eccius, nothing in any of his own Letters, in which he complains of many other false objections against him: none of his Adversaries, neither Hogstrate or Prierias, though both of them were Dominicans, object this to him: nay, not the chief man employed in the bufiness, and principally attacked by Luther, Tetzelius, reproaches him with this envious spirit: no not Cachleus himself, in all his numerous writings, while Luther lived, had the confidence to assign this cause. Nor indeed was there any ground for it; for the Austin Friars were not usually employed on this occasion, but the Franciscans, as Pallavicini objects to Fra. Paolo's History, and proves against him\*. belonged to no Order, but the Mendicants were thought the fittest for the business, and among these the Franciscans and Dominicans were generally made choice of. And shall we now credit the inventions of Cochlaus after Luther's death, fo contrary to facts, and which he durst not publish while that Reformer lived? or does his skill in controversy, in the Conference at Ausburgh, Ratisbone and Worms make him St . 7

Dissert. Hist, Eccles. anno. 1749.

Ac primò quidem falsum est, consuevisse hoc munus injungi remitanis, cum à Julio Minoribus impositum fuerit, ut supra declaratum est. *Pallavicini*, Hist. Conc. Frid. lib. i. c. 3. p. 14.

un unexceptionable Voucher, even in an instance of manifest untruth? Luther therefore stands justified by the Romanitts themselves in his opposing this scandalous trade of Indulgences. The Pope condemned his opinions; Luther appealed to a General Council: several German Princes and States joined in this Appeal, in order to bring on that long wished for Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members: Why then was it delayed for five and twenty years? And who was in fault? Leo, fays Mr. Phillips, in the disposition Europe then was, 4 thought a General Council would be a hazardous expedient.—Why fo?—He feared what such an f affembly might undertake concerning a reform of the Court of Rome, which he was unwilling should be submitted to any inspection but his own. Ezrope was in a disposition to examine the power of the Bishop of Rome, and the corruptions which had been introduced into the Church through a few preceding Centuries of flavery and ignorance; the Bishop of Rome refuses to submit his claims of power and his corrupt administration of the Church to any inspection but his own. Were then the Princes, the Priesthood and the Laity to blame, who refused that power which would not be bounded, and endeavoured themselves to reform abuses which the Author of them supported? Had they waited for the next Pope. -Adrian VI. how did things mend? He was fenfible of the need there was of a Reformation, and confessed, that, in truth, for many years past, the Sins of Rome had been manifold and grievous, and that even from the Head, down to the inferior Clergy, A 214 110

that Evil and Contagion had been propagated. But as to applying the effectual Remedy, a General and Free Council, it was ' represented to him by the Cardinal who had been employed under the three last Popes, Alexander, Julius, and Leo, that in 4 the fituation things then were, those measures, which in other circumstances might seem adviseable, 4 would only serve to make the Disturbers of the oublick tranquility more infolent, and heighten their credit with the people: that they would look on the intended reformation as a concession of the sabuses they had complained of, and instead of being satisfied with what he should do in order to remedy Evils, which length of time had never s failed to introduce, would go on to demand other effential changes, and thus throw every thing into confusion."' Thus, beside the unwillingness in the Pope to be reformed by others, he continues abuses in the Church, of which he himself was fenfible, lest the removal of them should give credit to those whose consciences had been offended at them. His Successor Clement VII. ' who had been used to Courts, made use of that address which is there acquired. " To what purpose? to procure a Council or to evade one? the Event informs us: he never called one: and Du Pin tells us. He was politively against a Council, and much more fuch an one as was proposed by the Diet of Nurembergy. His reason for it is given, not by a Protofsant, but a Roman, Miniana, in his continuation of Mariana's History; who tells us that the Emperous. in order to heal the disorders introduced by the Horeticks,

<sup>\*</sup> P. 327. \* P. 328. . . . XVI Cent. b. ii. c. 17.

reticks, applied to this Pope to call a General Comcil: but the Pope studious of his own fafety, and conscious of a blot, for which he was apprehensive a Council would depose him, rendered fruitless the Emperour's wishes and attempts\*. This blot was either bastardy or simony, under the reproach of both which he labored. So that a Free General Council, from the disposition of the Pope, was entirely to be despaired of: he would either call none, or one at his command, who should not restrain his authority, or correct abuses complained of: but labor to establish his Tyranny, and condemn those who condemned the abuses of the Court of Rome. With this view Paul III. appeared active for calling a General Council, and propounded Mantua for the place. The Protestants objected to that city, as the Brother of its Duke was a Cardinal; and again@ the Pope's Presidency, as he had declared himself a party in the Bull of Indiction, professing, that he called the Council to root out the Lutheran Herefie. To prepare for a future Council Paul amused the Germans with the advice before mentioned of Pole and his eight Collegues for a Reformation: who very honestly pointed out the two capital sources of all the Disorders; the sycophantick extension of the Pope's Power by his Creatures and Flatterers; and

Divini et humani juris conturbatis rationibus perfidia hæreticorum ad œcumenici eoncilii sacram anchoram recurrit Cæsar maturandi ad Pontificem (Clem. VII.), qui oraret, ut in eo colligendo navaret operam, dato negotio Petro Cuevæ aulæ magistro. Verum abnuente officium Pontifice, præ sudo sibi cavendi, ne vitio, quo laborabat, loco excideret, si concilium cogeret, nullum extitit operæ pretium, abiereq; in irritum Cæsaris vota. Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

the profitution of the grace of God which was fo feandalously put up to publick fale. This was too much to be openly avowed, therefore it was suppreffed, and only fecretly handed about to whom they thought proper, and afterwards when it became too publick, prohibited. In the mean time feveral Diets were held in the Empire to reconcile the Romanists and Protestants. At Ratisbone they made 2 wery confiderable progress towards this defireable end : but the Pope's Legate frustrated the accommodation. Thus the Pope refused any reformation which he should not direct; and the Protestants would not fulrmit to the Decrees of a Council which should be under his immediate influence. Such was the flate of things when Paul III. called the Council of . Trent. This Mr. Phillips says, with respect to the Protestants, ' was to begin by Schism, what was defigned to put arrend to it.2' But furely when the Pope's power is in dispute, to determine it to be Schisin, to doubt of it, is to beg the question.

But notwithstanding all the Pope's pretence of desiring to call a Council, he suffered eight years to pass before it met; for which it is certain the Pope was censured, as Sadolet writes to Pole: 'all that is blameable redounds to his dishonor, whom we revere and love, and to whom we have the highest obligations. 'These complaints, says Mr. Phillips, coming to the Pope from all sides, and from none louder than the Emperour and the whole

Germanick Body, seemed, at length, to have de-

termined

**P.** 333. **P.** 332.

termined him to put off no longer the only remedy that was adæquate to the greatness of the Evil. The truth was, the Emperour had promifed to require the Pope to call a Council, and if he did not. he would call a Diet of the Empire within eighteen months to end all differences in Religion . He therefore phose to call one, which he could command, rather than submit to one which should command bim. And for this reason, he wished to have it in Italy; Ferdinand not affenting to this, he appointed Trent, on the confines of Germany and Italy, but rather in It. 1; than Germany, under his own Presidency; by which he got rid of the Protestants, who had before declared they would admit of no Council, but in Garmany; and that not under the government of the Pope. Yet his Holiness durst not trust even to a Council so garbled, without many other arts for the direction of it.

They first met in November, 1542, where three Legates, of which Cardinal Pole was the third, presided. This was adjourned within a few months after the meeting: but resumed again three years after, December 1545, when Cardinal Pole was first Legate d. He staid a month after his two Collegues at Rome, where he composed a Work on the nature and end of General Councils; which was published a few years after his death by Adus Manutius, in 1562, who dedicated it, says our Biographer, 6 to 6 Paul IV. of the Medicean Family. 6 This mistake of making Manutius dedicate a Book to a Pope, who had been dead almost three years, cannot be charged

b Ibid. CDu Pin XVI. Cent. d P. 333. CP. 350.

charged on the private profe he made use of at Oxford;

but to his own inaccuracy.

When the Council met, at the very beginning of it, the Pone fettled a Congregation of Cardinals and : Officers of the Court of Rome to have direction of affairs belonging to the Council. Now I would; ask the Disciples of the Pope, whether they suppose : the Holy Spirit affished the Council at Trant, or the Congregation at Rome? if the former, what occar: fion there was for the latter? Next he nominated the Officers of the Council; which even that Council; al complained of, as an usurpation of their Rights. And in the very first Session, the Legates would not fuffer the Council to assume the Title of Representing the Universal Church, because of the clause which was added to the Councils of Conftance and Bable that the Council holds its power immediately from Fefus Christ; and that all Christians of what condition or dignity foever, even Popes themselves, are obliged by it. The Pope thanked them forthus defending the interest of the Court of Rome." So determined were they not to yield the remedy which had been demanded by the injured Christian World! When they came to confider the business tò

f Du Pin. B Du Pin, p. 5. XVI Cent. lib. 3. c. 12

<sup>\* —</sup>Ut nihil quiequam dicere, proponere, sur fandere licitum fit, quod propositioni sacta à Legatis Papa non-usquequaq; consentiat et concordet. —Hoc magno artiscio excogitatum esse consustonis et turbarum vitandarum specie, sed reverà, ut impediretur essicax Ecclesia et Curia Romana emendatio. Richerus (a firict Papist) in Hist. Concil. General. lib. iv. part 2.

to which they should apply themselves, Some propos sed that they should begin with Reformation, as what the Garman had so long defired: others wished to begin with Doctrine, fearing, if they labored after Reformation, they should correct some abuses of the Court of Rome, and thereby renew the antient differences that were between the Councils of Constance and Baffl, and the Pope: A third proposal was to join both together. The Legates were glad to close in here, and thought it a victory to the Holy See to defeat the deligns of those who aimed at Reformation fingly; but when they fent the Pope word of it, expecting his thanks, he was very angry that they had at all consented that Reformation should be treated of. and commanded them to execute the first orders that he had given them, not to fuffer any matters to be treated of in the Council but those of Faith. ever, the Legates had agreed to treat of both together, and the Pope was forced to acquiesce. Many other arts were made use of to secure his command over the Council; supporting some of the pooret Bishops, who taking his pay were enlisted into his Service\*; calling back again such Bishops as had left

This is intimated even by the Biographer himself, who says, the Legates signified to the governing Cardinal Farnese, 'that several of the Bishops were unprovided with necessaries, and that it would be proper to appoint a Freesurer, with a fund sufficient to answer their exigencies.' p. 351. It appears from the Acks of the Council, that there were (in Plus IVth's time) present 270 Bishops, of which the Italians made 187, on which Richerias, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, observes, pontifices sedulate dediste operam, ut in Trid. Concilio Episcopis Italiae triplo ferme aliarum provinciarum episcopos superarent;

left it, when a Majority was wanting; admitting the Generals of Orders, protected by the Pope, and devoted to him, to a deliberative and decifive vote; And when a Majority of two or three were against them, his Legates challenged, for their dignity, that the Minority, with them, should be considered as of more weight than the Majority. All these, and many more instances, of unfair influence are to be found in the History of this Council, which I take from Du Pin; as Mr. Phillips objects to Paolo, his being adverse to the Pope; and Pallavieni's, is written purposely to balance the prejudices of the former, by, at least, as great ones on the other side.

As previous to the Sessions Mr. Phillips descants on the behaviour of two Princes, who had then the lead in the affairs of Eurape (the Emperour and French King) 'whose descrence to the Fathers of the Council might recall to the learned Reader the respect which the great Constantine shewed to the Bishops at the Council of Nice; who requested them to meet in that City from different Provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, by Letters full of respect. But Eusebius says, Constantine gave command for the assembling a General Council; and that Writs of Summons were sent into every Province. And as to the Emperour and the French King, before the Council was concluded, the behaviour of the Pope

P. 353. Euseb. Vit. Conft. lib. 3. p. 6.

perarent; ac proinde omnia ex animi sui arbitrio et curiæ Romanæ sylo ac placitis, quibus innutriti erant, decernerentur.-- Italiæ episcopos assuetos dominationi Curiæ Rom. totos a nutu pontificis tanquam absoluti monarchæ pependisse. Hist. Concil, General, lib. iv. part. 2.

was fo scandalous as to offend them both; when the Legates proposed moving the Council from Trent to Bononia, the Fathers would not confent without Teeing the Pope's Commission: yet, when the Emperour referred this removal of it without his confent, the Pope affured him by his Nuncio that he had no hard in that Translation: The Emperour protested against his procedings as unlawful, illusive, and fraudulent. The French King, in a speech prepared by his Ambassadours, if not spoken, represented, that it appeared, in calling the Council he had not in view the Reformation of the Church, and restoration of Discipline, but the management of his own Interests preferably to the Publick Good. The Protestants they had endeavoured to exclude by refusing a free Council in Germany, or one, in which the Pope, as a party accused, should not prefide; the equity of which is acknowledged by all then, and even by a Pope\*. And when, for peacesake, they agreed to come to Trent, on a safe conduct, the Pope's Council at Rome opposed it, lest their arrival might corrupt some, as it happened to Vergerius, Bilhop of Justinople: and when, for fear of the Emperour, they thought a fafe conduct must be granted, they proposed an elusive one, to all the Ecelefiziticks and Seculars of the German Nation in general, which might feem to comprehend the Prozestants; yet intending to except them; because not M 2 named

<sup>\*</sup> Quero tamen ab his, judiciumq; quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut lidem sint inimici, et testes, et judices? sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas. P. Gelas. Ep. 4. Thus we see a Pope himself has condemned the Council of Trent.

named expresly: or that the Council might grant a fafe conduct for it felf, but have the authority of the Pope free. And indeed what hearing or redress could the Protestants expent, when the petitions of the Emperour and the French King, for a Reformation in some particulars, were not youch safed to be proposed by the Legates k? The two great corruptions, the Tyranny of the Pope, and the merchandise of Grace, which the Protestants had objected, and the Pope's Council of Nine had acknowledged, as needing Reformation, were established by this Council of Trent; bounds of the former were extended, and the principles on which the other abuses built, were confirmed. The Pope was now, contrary to former Councils, made Superior to a General Council, to prefide at it by his Legates, to guide and influence it at a diftance; and Bishops were no longer commissioned by Christ as Successors of the Apostles, but derived their powers from the Pope as his Delegates. And Purgatory, Mass-Sacrifices, Invocation of Saints, meritorious works, fatisfaction and atonement by other means than Christ's blood, and Indulgences, (though a little restrained in the dispensing them,) those sources of wealth to the Pope and his Dependents, and of a fatal security to the deluded votaries, were now authoratively decreed under an Anathema. to the Contradictors.

Mr.

Vide Schelhorne Amenit. Hift. Eccles. lib. i. p. 495.

Mr. Phillips's opinion of this Coun-18. Mr. cil, is, that the World has never Phillips's opinifeen a more illustrious Copy of the on of the Council of Frent, and venerable Council of Jerusalem unof the Principles o der the Apostles, than that of of the Proces-Trent.19 Some differences there appear to have been in the two Councils, which by his leave I shall point out. 1. St. Peter was present in that of Ferusalem, while his pretended Successor presided at Trent by means of his Cloakbag. 2. St. Peter, though present, did not preside: the Pope would preside, though absent. Mr. Phil-Tips, from Pole, would prove St. Peter's presidency by his opening the Council; but he did not open it. The Text says, And the Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said . Did the opening of the Council begin after the disputation? 3. Peter rose up as one of the Council to deliver his own opinion: but the Pope's business in all Councils, says Pole, is to propose the faith, and the rest are not only to approve, but find out arguments to confirm it\*. 4. Not Peter, but St. James, the Bithop of the City, formed the Decree to which all affented: So that at Trent, not the Pope himself, had he been there, or his Legates in his absence, should have presided and formed the Decree, but Cardinal Madrucci should have had that office assigned him, to have made this a more exact Copy of the venerable Original. 5. The Perfons who confulted, affisted, and affented in the Apostolical Council, M 3

P. 421. Acts xv. 6, 7.

Polus de Concilio. Quæst. xxxviii. pag. 21.

were different from those which Pole mentions; he fays, the Council confished of Peter, the Apolities. and Elders: there is no where any distinction of Peter from the other Apostles in the Text but as a-proposer of his private opinion; and as such St. Yames is diffinguished also: but the Council is proposed as confisting of the Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren & (where the Vulgate leaves out the last copulate, and reads the Apostles, and Elders, Bretbren;) but that reading is refuted by the preceding verse, the Apostles, and Elders, with the whole Church. The affent of the Brethren or People is necessary: in Doctrines reveled by God, the rejecter does it at his hazard. for want of necessary faith; to force his outward affent is of no use to him: in Discipline, where Mens liberty or property are concerned, the affent of the Princes, and their People, either personally or representatively, is necessary. And therefore the Council of Trent, prefuming to subject Princes to deprivation of Cities, Castles, and Goods; and their people to pecuniary fines, seizures of Estates, and imprisonment, acted beyond their power; and where such affent is wanting, the Decrees must be Thus the Emperour rejected part of ineffectual. their Decrees: Spain, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily received the Council, but with a Provifo, to fave the Rights of the Prince and Kingdom: And the French would never receive it to this day. 6. The design was different; the Apostolical Council was to take off from the Gentiles a heavy yoke which God had imposed upon the Yews: the Trent Council was to impose as galling a yoke on all which God had not enjoined. The restraint, which the former laid in indifferent things, was necessary for peace and free communion with

with one another; what the latter imposed was unnecessary, and on purpose to divide and separate. 7. The Apostolical Council was affisted by the Holy Ghost: the Trent Council pretended the same : but Manutim, the Pope's Printer, who first published the Decrees of the Council blundered upon the Truth, when, in the thirteenth Session, he ascribes the hapby fuccess of this Council to the direction and overruling of a particular Spirit, instead of the particular guidance of the Holy Spirit\*. I will not here offend Mr. Phillips by repeting the Scoff which he mentions as indecent and void of witn: but the expression did not mean any indecent blending the Hoby Ghost with the Roman Cloak bag, or, as the province of wit is, to confound the ideas; but to diffinguish the one from the other, and separate what the Council of Trent in their pretences had confounded: But be the expression as blameable as Mr. Phillips would wish it, it is not ours, but their own, wied by a venerable Bishop of their own Communion, a member of the Council of Trent, witness of their fcandalous procedings there, where, he fays, they daily faw hungry and needy Bishops come, youths for the most part, which did but begin to have beards, given over to luxury and riot, hired only to give their voices as the Pope pleased, and whom he compares to Country Bagpipes, who could not speak but as breath was put into them. The Holy Ghoft, fays he, had nothing to do in this Assembly; all the counsels

P. 395.

Non abique peculiaris Spiritus Sancii ductu et gubernatione.

counsels given these proceded from human policy, and tended only to maintain the Pope's immoderate and shameful domination: He then represents, that while the Fathers boasted that they at Trent were governed by the Holy Spirit, they really were governed by the contents of a possilion's cloak bag from Rome-This being the Truth, the indecency, (if you please, impiety,) falls on the Fathers and their Sycophants. who ascribe to the Holy Ghost the worldly dictates of the Pope communicated by the cloak bag. Writer was no other than Dudithius, a Domestick of Cardinal Pole's, and the Translator of his Life by But our Biographer chose to suppress his Beccatelli. name, lest we should discover another of Pole's family disposed to leave the Roman Communion: The French Ambassadour also, as Mr. Phillips tells us, made use of the same expression; and Fra. Paolo mentions. it as a blasphemous Proverb generally used. Nay, Cardinal Pole himself will teach us to judge by what Spirit that Council was governed, He tells us, a. Council, which proposes nothing else than the honor of God in Christ, and the welfare not of any one man, or people, or nation, but the common welfare of all who profess the Faith of Christ where ever dispersed over the whole Earth, such a General, Council may be esteemed a lawful one, and guided by the Holy Spirit; but if respect be had to the honor of one person only, or of many, and his or their advantage, apart from God's honor, fuch a Council is governed by a Human Spirit, and their impious Decrees ought to be rejected by the voice of the Christian World: And he advises the Legates of **fuch** 

<sup>·</sup> Council of Trent, lib. 6.

fuch a Countil to omit finging the tilial Hydin, Come, Holy Ghoft. And that this Council had refect to the honor of one perfon only, we have the testimony of the Emperour and the French King: lays the first, same reports that the Council is directed and governed at the nod of the Roman Court: Countiers from Rome are slying backwards and forwards; nothing is proposed or handled but what that Court injoins: all things are managed in the Council by bribes, threats and promises. The other; by his Ambassadurs, says, you do nothing yourselves, Holy Fathers; but all things are transacted

Quæk, XI. Quid eft, quod mare loquendi Ecclefiæ dicimus, in Spiritu Sancto indictum Concilium? quove

argumento ejulmodi Concilium dignoscitur?

Resp. Hoc quidem maxime, cum in eo cogendo is, qui ejus rei jus obtinet, solum Dei in Christo honorem spectat, et salutem non unius vel hominis, vel populi, vel nationis, sed omnium simul, quicunque Christi sidem per orbem útcunq; dispersi prositentur. Tale entim Concistum generale, legitimum, atq; in Spiritu Sancto indictum esse dicimus; Quod si unius alicujus bominis bonor, vel plurium, etiamsi universi generis honor respicitur, ut Concilium silud Babylonium respexit; vel utilitas, si seri potest, secluso Dei honore; hac in parte est Concilium humani Spiritûs, et quicquid per hunc Spiritum statutur, contrarium est decretis Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ illud imprimis sibi propositum habent, ut impia hujusmodi decreta abrogent, et aboleant. Pol. De Concilio. p. 7. et p. 55.

† Ecce jam cæpto Concilio rumor tam à Catholicis quam ab aliis hinc deinde spargitur, Concilium in omnibus adnutum Romanæ Curiæ dirigi et moderari, Româ cursores susque deq, volitare, nil proponi aut tractari quod à Romana Curia speciatim haud imponatur, promissis, donis, minis cuncta agitari in Concilio. Ferdinandi literæ ad Pontiscem Pium IV. scriptæ ac nondum editæ. Apud Schelh. Amænit. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 410.

red at Rome rather than at Trent; and what you publish are justly to be esteemed rather the ordinances of Pins IV. than the Decrees of the Council of Trent. And now let the Reader determine, without respecting the characters of either, whose judgment, in this respect, is soundest; that of the Canon of Tongras, who assures us the World has never seen a more illustrious Copy of the Apostolical Council than that of Trent: or, that of Lord Bolingbroke, who calls the whole a solemn banter.

As to the point at which their Decrees aimed, it was certainly contrary to that for which the Council had been demanded. The Christian World had complained of the tyranny of the Pope, and the oppressive avaritious impositions of him and his Ministers, and therefore called for a Reformation of that church in its Head and Members: the remedy, a General Council, had been by various arts eluded for five and twenty years. And when, at last, the Pope was forced to call one by the threats of Germany and France, that they would reform their own territories by national Councils, if they were longer denied a General one, he changed the object, and, instead of reforming the abuses of Rame, condemned those who

L'Ubi nullum legibus locum, nullum antiquorum Conciliorum vestigium libertatis Pius IV. reliquit; quid enim vobis judicandum proponitur, aut à vobis judicatum publicatur, quod non prius Romam missum, et Pio IV. placuit?---Nihil à vobis, Patres SS. sed omnia magis Roma quam Tridenti aguntur, & hæc quæ publicantur magis Pii IV. placita, quam Concilii Tridentini decreta jure existimantur. Instructions et Lettres des Rois tres-chrestiens & de leurs Ambassadeurs & autres actes concernant le Concile de Trente. P. 488. edit. a fatribus Puteanis.

centured them. As was professedly declared by one of the Legates, Cardinal Seripando, in the year 1562, that the end ought not to be the instruction of the Latholicks, but the confusion of the Hereticks. Accordingly Mr. Phillips, just before he gives an account of the Council, blackens the Hereticks (as he calls all Protestants) as if their irregularities were the occasion of calling it, and inferring, that they whose lives were so remarkably faulty, could never be designed by the source of truth and holiness to enlighten and reform mankind. The fame inference he draws again, and fays, on fingle instance can be produced where the Supreme Being, when he was about to revele to meh any important truth which had been unknown in all past ages, or to e realism them from any exemplary degeneracy, has ever chosen so scandalous a King, as Henry VIII. or such servile and corrupt ministers, both in "Church and State, as that Prince made use of."

Against this general declamation and the inference drawn from it in prejudice to the Reformation, it may be sufficient to observe, that among the Reformers there were many very good men as well as some bad ones; and that men so mixed may be chosen by Christ to revele truths and reform manners, for to Judas, as well as to the other Apostles, it was given in charge to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to preach the kingdom of Heaven, to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, and cast out Divels! that yet the Resormers never pretended to revele any important truth which had been unknown in all past ages,

P Fra. Paolo Conc. Trid. lib. vi. 9 P. 275. P. 432. Matth. x. 4-8.

but to restore the knowledge of primitive truths, which the Church of Rome had corrupted; that, by restoring to Men the knowledge of evangelical truths, they might recover them from an exemplary degeneracy to an evangelical Holines; that a more scandalous Prince than Henry VIII. was chosen to exalt the Church of Rome to that Supremacy which it now claims, I mean the Emperor Phocas; and more corrupt Ministers have sate in that See since, to call Councils, which Mr. Phillips holds to be infallible, and to govern as Christ's Vicars, than were ever made use of by Henry to administer either in Church or State.

But to examine the Particulars for which he cenfures the Reformation at large, both here and in other Countries: He objects their variety of prinions, infomuch ' that the Synod of Scrinia came to this wild resolution of allowing every one to believe as he thought proper. 'As if the Members of the Roman Church were entirely agreed in the absolute fingleness of the Gospel; as if there had been no variety of opinions in the Fathers at Trent, and those so angrily maintained, as to come even to plucking of beards: nay, the Bishop of Albenga observed, " that it was never read in History, that any man ee ver quitted his opinion, unless he was forced to its and thought that there was no better way to prewent herefies than to tolerate all opinions, and fo to keep all the schools in peace; that the protesta-

tions which the Doctors made of submitting to the idegment of the Church, were only terms of ci-

s vility and decency, which ought to be answered

' by

By a reciprocal deference towards them, and poeferving themselves neuter amidst these Contradic-4 tions." Which advice, though then rejected, has been fince followed in practice; as when the - Dominicans, to flew their agreement with the Yesuits, and to avoid the reproach of being called Calvinilla and Janfenists (with whom they really agree) admit, that all men have sufficient Grace: but mean by infficient, a Grace that wants something more to make it effectual". Such is the harmony and absolute finglenefs of the Roman Church.

He objects further, the Lufts of Protestants, the defection of one of the fairest portions of the Ca-

tholick Church was the effect of the luft and ava-

rice of one despotick Tyrant: and the Priests and

· Religious of both Sexes were exempted from the conference of their vows." I fear it is a spirit of avarice that breaths forth that compliment on our Nation before its defection, that it was once one of the fairest portions of the Catholick Church: that is, it once was plundered by the Pope more than any other Nation under his yoke. Hinc ille lacryme. The avarice of a more despotick Tyrant was disanpointed by Henry. He aimed at nothing more than being King over all his own natural Subjects; whereas the Pope would usurp an Empire over all the Kingdoms of the World. His lusts, though highly blameable, cannot reflect on the Protestants, of whose Religion he was not; and even had he been of it. the Church of Rome would gain no advantage by estimating the excellence of the two Professions by the

<sup>&</sup>quot; Paschal's Letters. w Du Pin, 16 Cent. p. 59. y P. 330, 331.

the comparative Lufts of the despotick Tyrant that was at the Head of them feverally, Henry and Paul III. The latter, beside many other instances of his Lust which furnished him with a Daughter, was driven by it also to debauch that Daughter, as well as his own Sifter, and his Neice 2. And if we descend to the Clergy and Religious, whose liberty of chaste Marriage, agreeably to God's word, he censures as indecent and offensive, we must with indignation hear this objected to us, by a Priest of that Church. whose Members have written in defence of Sodomy, as Cafa, Archbishop of Beneventum ; whose most Holy Popes have granted dispensations for this unnatural vice, as Sextus IV. to the whole family of Cardinal Lucia in the months of June, July, and August ; whose Clergy were so profligate, that Platina feared a worse than Dioclesian persecution would be drawn upon them from offended heaven\*; and. at the time of the Council, Ferdinand defired to restore to his Priests the liberty of marriage, because his people, he said, could bear any thing but the impure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Sleiden Hist. Ref. b. 21. p. 4. Sleiden Hist Ref. b. 21. b Wesselus Groningensis tractatu de Indulgentiis.

Quid futurum nostra ætate arbitramur ? quo vitis nostra eo crerere, ut vix apud Deum misericordiæ locum nobis reliquerint ? Quanta sit avaritia sacerdotum, et eorum maxime qui rerum potiuntur quanta libido undique conquista: quanta ambitio et pompa, quanta superbia et dissidia, quanta ignoratio tum sui ipsius, tum doctrinæ Christianæ, quam parva religio, et simulate potius quam vera. In Vita Marcellini.

impure Celibacy of their Clergyt -- And how little the case was mended by the Council appears in a Vifitation made in the year 1629, at the command of Pope Paul V. when it was found that among the Ecclefiafficks of three large Provinces (who had all been bred up under the fevere discipline of the Jesuits) there were only fix Priests who did not keep Concubines . With what face can Mr. Phillips object to the Protestants, the chaste marriage of our Clergy, as a scandal that needed Reformation! Is the offence less at Rome, that exemplary City, that City set npon a Hill, where Christ's Vicar, the Pope, and the Apostles Successors the Cardinals, give the Christian World the light of their example? There Pole and his eight Collegues complain that the pride, the pomp, the impudence and shameless publick triumph of the Cardinals and Clergy's Whores are in excess beyond any other City in the Worldt. Espenceus. at Catholick of great repute, alks, if this was not necessary for the service of those members at Rame who had vowed chaftity? which he believes to be the case, because Caraffa, one of those nine who complained of the offence, when he came to be Pope

e Wharton's Treatife of the Calibacy of the Clergy.

† In Catholicis sacerdotibus cætera ferre potest, impurum verò cælibatum extremé semper odit. Petitiones Imperat. Ferdinandi ad Concilium Trident. apud Schelhorn. Amæn. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 548.

1 In hâc etiam urbe, meretrices ut matronz ince. dunt per urbem seu mula vehuntur, quas assectantur de media die Nobiles familiares Cardinalium, Clericque. Nulla in urbe videmus hanc corruptionem, przeterquam in hâc omnium exemplari. Concilium de Emend. Eccles.

Pope, would not attempt the suppression of those Whores, though reminded of it by Espenceus. And Pole, another of them, having restored his chaste Priests into England, meditated, as it is reported, the restoration of the stews.

The Laity were eafed of many painful observances of Church discipline, fasts, confession, and enitence; and carnal Souls, of which the Chris-'s tian World was then full, readily received carnal instructions.4' We acknowledge that we do not observe the primitive discipline; but we wish that a primitive zeal and humility in the people would permit the restoration of it. In the mean time we are well perfuaded, that our discipline of instruction. prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, is more effectual to recover Sinners, and reconcile them to God, than the painful discipline, as Mr. Phillips calls it, of the Roman Church in her fasts, confession and The primitive discipline they have repenance. mitted and ceased to observe as well as we. The early Christians admitted not persons guilty of enormous crimes, fuch as Idolatry, Adultery, and Murther, to their Communion, till after many years of publick

# · a p. 331.

§ Et hanc tamen turpitudimem corruptelamq; ne ille quidem, ex confiliariis tum unus, Paulus postea IV. subfulit, quod, ut mihi bene sum conscius, eo quo me colloquio dignatus est, qua potui et debui modestia privatim suaseram. Espencaceus de Continentia, lib. 3. inter opera sol. 733.

|| Immo aiunt, Eminentiam ejus jam in eo occupatameste, ut lupanaria (fit dicto venia) reftituat. Schelhorne ex anonymo quem fuspicatur fuisse Vergerium Amænit.

Hist. Eccles tom. ii. p. 23.

bublick penance, to humble the Sinner, to fatisfy the Church (offended by his crimes) of his repentance, and to deter others from the like offences; but this publick penance is in disuse at Rome, and the most execrable Sinner in her Communion, after being confest to a Priest, without giving the publick any token of his repentance, may pals for a true Penitent. Their very Priests, as Cardinal Vitry complains, spending the night in a brothel, and the next morning at the Altar; in the embraces of a whore at night, and in the morning handling the Virgin's Son\*. Their false discipline destroys every Act of Penance: They indeed recommend Contrition, or a forrow for Sin from the love of God: but they teach that Attrition, or a forrow for Sin from the fear of punishment, with the Priests absolution, is fufficient. We teach with the Antients, that not the Priest's absolution, but the Contrition of the Penitent procures the pardont. The present opinion of the Church of Rome was not maintained till about the year 1220. Innocent III. who died in 1216, knew nothing of it, but holds with ust. ricular Confession, according to the Tenets of the Church of Rome, encourages men to fin by training them up in a false security; for they teach, that the Priest's absolution to the Confessed gives pardon and the

Nocte in lupanari, mane in altari, filiam Veneris nocte tangentes, filium Virginis mane contrectantes. Lib. ii. cap. 5.

+ Non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum Vita quæ-

fitur. Hieronym.

\*\*Remififti (says he on the second Penitential Psalm) ut patenter ostendat, quod peccatum prius remittitur per compunctionem à Deo, quam pronunciatur per confessionem ab homine.

the infusion of grace; the absolution is given before the penance is performed, which is injoined to atone and make fatisfaction, which is therefore often neglected; the Confessed may demand absolution, without penance, in many enormous crimes on the doctrine of PROBABLE opinions; so say Bauny, Suarez, Valquez and Sanchez: grave Doctors and Jesuits all. Who, or their fellows, have justified the very crimes for which the primitive discipline would exclude the guilty from Communion till the hour of death. dolatry they permitted in China, if they hid an image of Christ under their cloaks; Adultery they countenance by permitting a woman to retain the wages of her Sin, unless committed with a Monk or a Minor, for then she must refund; Murder they justify in a thousand instances, says Paschal, in his seventh Letter, on the authority of the fame Cafuists: feves ral of which he mentions; thus Sanchez fays, A man may fight a duel, to fave his life, his ' honor, or his goods:' On which Nabarra improves by faying, 'A man may likewife stab and kill his enemy flily. And when he can do fo, and get quit of him, it is better than to fight a duel, for then he neither exposes his own life to danger, nor partakes of his enemy's crime, which he must do in a Duel.' A man, according to Reginaldus, may kill the false witnesses which his enemy has fuborned against him.' Tunner and Emostuel So allow farther, 'that he may murder the falle withers, and the judge too, if they happen to be in concert with each other.' And their general opinion is, as Peter Navarre relates it, that you may murder the man who affronts you, if the injury cannot be otherwise repaired. Ex sententia omnium licet contumeliosum occidere.

becidere. si aliter ea injuria arceri nequite. fuch crimes are justified, few are left to be condemn-If condemned, still the confessed may demand absolution without penance, if he will stand to the pains of Purgatory; and these he may escape for one only Mass said at a privileged Altar. If he submits to the penance of Works to atone and make satisfaction, such as fasting and alms-giving, these also are, without much difficulty, eluded: the Gloss of the Canon Law pretends that a Son may fast instead of his Father, and a Brother for a Sister, and so for the rest: whence Persons of Quality fend a Daughter of their family to a Convent, who is charged with a commission of fasting and praying for them, and undergoing the penances imposed on them. The Jesuits. with a still more obliging casuistry, excuse the obligation of fasting on many occasions; thus Father Filliucius, 'Suppose any one has fatigued himself. running after a girl for example, is he obliged to fast? Not at all. But what if he tired himself on purpose to be dispensed with from fasting, will hethen . be obliged? No, though it should be his premeditated design, he is not at all obliged to fast. And as for the Duty of Alms-giving out of our Superfluity, Valquez tells us, ' that which is hoarded up to advance yourself or relations is not called superfluity; so that the laity feldom or never have any fuch thing, no, not even Kings themselves. Lastly, the Indulgences invented by Gregory VII. and fince granted occasionally to raise large sums of money, for the remission of penances for a limited or N 2 un+

Palchel's Lietters, p. 189. F Pasch. Lett. 5.

unlimited term of years; and the Taxations of the A-postolical Chamber for Licences for sinning\*, should have made Mr. Phillips blush to urge the remission of the Roman Discipline, against Protestants, as the seduction of carnal instruction to catch carnal souls.

The wealth of the Church became every where the folunder of those who renounced the authority. This cannot be said of the Chief of the Reformers, the Prelates and Clergy; for these, as Mr. Phillips heavily complains, were themselves plundered. he means the reflexion against King Henry, he certainly, with the advice and confent of his two Houses of Parliament, had a right to employ those finews of war, which he had in his own Kingdom, to defend himself against the Pope, which the Pope, through the intrigues of Poie, was straining to the utmost, in order to depose him from his throne, or fet a foreign Potentate above him. For these political reasons, the King alienated them from the Church; and for other political reasons, the Pope, when restored in Queen Mary's reign, confirmed the alienation! If he would compare the avarice of the Protestant Clergy with that of the Roman Clergy, the view which Nicholas de Clamengiis gives of theirs will, I suppose, be fufficient to justify ours upon the comparison; speaking of the vast revenues which the Cardinals spent on their Lusts, he says, ' not two or three, or ten, or twenty Benefices would fuffice, but an hundred or two hundred; yea, sometimes four or five hundred.

### h Phillips, P. 331.

<sup>\*</sup> Omnis noxa, omnis error, omnia maleficia, etiamfi capitalia fint, per pecuniam laxantur, ac delentur. Nic. de Clamengiis De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu: circa ann. 1398.

or more, were usurped by one Cardinal; and those too not of the poorer sort, but the fattest and richest of all. And how great a number soever they had, they still more vehemently endeavoured to get

more.\*

He objects, moreover, to our religious enquiries into things reveled, because Mysteries of Religion. though proposed to our understanding with all the evidence of light and truth, are still incomprehenfible; and must always be the object of faith rather than knowledge, as being little confonant to reason and to the experience of our senses; and this casts curious and presumptuous minds into error and impiety.1' If by things little confonant to the experience of our senses, he means, concerning which our senses give us but little information; we may doubtless assent to Doctrines, concerning which they give us no immediate information at all: If he means, which feem to disagree with the testimony of our senses, we may affent to these also, if what seems to be their testimony be indeed only a prejudice of imagination, or if we have not the means of exercising our senses fully in relation to them: But where we have, and especially if we can exercise not only one of our fenses about them, but all which are capable of being fo exercised, and that as completely as we will; N 3 then

#### 1 P. 331.

Non quidem duo vel tria, decem vel viginti, sed centena et ducentena, et interdum usque ad quadringenta vel quinginta et amplius. Nec parva et tenuia, sed omnium pinguissima et optima.—Quantumcunque ad numerum aut summam venerint, ad ampliorem sessinant et assiduè sessinant, et ardentiùs sessinant. De corrupt, Ecclesiæ statu, cap. 11.

then we cannot reject their Evidence, without making that of every external object uncertain. if by little confonant to Reason, he means, in favor of which Reason can say little or nothing, we may certainly admit such Doctrines on the Credit of Revelation: nay, though there be Circumstances in them, which to Reason seem strange, Doubts which it cannot answer, Difficulties which it cannot solve, yet, if they imply no plane contradiction or impossibility, we ought to submit our understandings to the obedience of Faith. But further we cannot go, without renouncing Reason, and even destroying all the grounds on which Faith itself stands; for which cause we ought ever to interpret Scripture so as to avoid absurdities. Thus for example: God is no object of sense: yet we have abundant proof that be is and that he is a rewarder of them who diligently feek His Existence and Providence are what we are to believe, the manner of his existence, and the hidden wisdom of his Providence, are mysteries; which, as we cannot possibly comprehend, we cannot be said to believe or disbelieve. Again: Revelation tells us, There is but One God : the same Revelation informs us, that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And this we can rationally believe, because Divine Works, Divine Attributes, Divine Honors are ascribed to each; whence Reason assents that these Three are One God: but the manner in which they are One God, is a mystery not reveled, and therefore not required to be believed. Mysteries, or secret things, Moses says, belong to the Lord our God: but those things which are reveled belong unto us and unto our Children for ever,

THAT WE MAY DO THE THINGS OF THIS LAW !. What God reveles is to influence our practice; in the above instance, that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father 1, which they ought not to do unless he were God, for thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve . But to believe, in contradiction to all the fenfes which we can employ on the occasion, that bread is flesh; in contradiction to the planest reason, that Christ held his Body in his hand, and that all the Apostles swallowed it at once down their throats, while he was fitting at table with them before their eyes, that it can be at the same time in Heaven and many different places of the earth, in motion and at rest; and lastly, in contradiction to Scripture, that his Body literally speaking was broken and his blood shed before he suffered. belong's not unto us and to our children, nor to any Beinga. indued with rational faculties; and would lead us to do contrary to the words of this law, by worthipping a piece of bread as God. We therefore encourage Religious enquiries, lest we fall into error and impiety.

But this Private Judgment is another offence, which the Council of Trent was called to take away, for the Profelytes of the new sects were allowed to he the Arbitrators of their own belief; and though no pretention would be more extravagant, yet it flattered their vanity, and left them at large to prophecy front things to every corruption of their heart. Extravagant as this may appear to Mr. Phillips, the most bigoted Papists, as well as the N 4 most



Deut. xxix. 20. I John v. 23. Matth. iv 10. P. 331.

most rational Protestants, must be left to be the Arabitrators of their own belief; the Bigot thinks, and he cannot think without exercifing his private judg-. ment, that he hath reasons, and therefore he must be the Arbitrator of his own Belief in them, to repose. an implicit confidence in men, who assume to bave dominion over his faitho; while the Reasoner is encouraged to fearch the Scriptures?, which speak as: to wife men, and allow him to judge what they fay?: And convinced by reason of their divine authority. he finds matter sufficient about which to exercise his faculties: and matter sufficient above his reasons though not contrary to it, to cast down imaginations. and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, for the exercise of faith. If he has not learning or abilities to judge of the Scripture, he must receive instruction from his spiritual guide; yet he must be allowed to be Arbitrator of his own belief. whether he will admit or refuse the interpretation; comparing, as well as he can, the credibility. of his Teachers, with that of the things taught. In the latter case, he will be subject here to the de- . termination (which ought never to be an uncharitable one) of the Church, in which providence hath placed him, whether he shall be continued in its Communion or not; but bereafter to that of the unerring Judge, whether his diffent was owing to the want of sufficient evidence, or to the corruptions of his own heart. But many, it may be faid, will abuse this right of private Judgment; but so they will every mean of Grace that God and Christ afford. them:

<sup>° 2</sup> Cor. i. 24. P John v. 39. 9 1 Cor. x. 15. 5 2 Cor. x. 5.

them: and the assumed Authority of the Church of Rome has been abused to prophecy smoother things to every corruption of the heart, than ever Private Judgment has done. Witness the tyranny, pride, luxury, and lust in the Rulers, and the obliging and accommodating behaviour, of the Jesuits, as Father Petau calls it, for the Ruled, by which they open their arms to all the World; that is, prophecy smooth things to every corruption of the heart. Irrational obedience to this authority, they say, is the most perfect obedience: and though Christ's commands withstand, they are no force against the judgment of the Church.

As the Fathers at Trent agreed, that
Decrees of the formation of Manners should be jointly treated of, we cannot commodiously separate them, but must be content to huddle
them together.

That they intended to establish, rather than reform, the abuses complained of by the Christian World, and for which this Council was demanded, which abuses were the tyranny of the Pope, and the scandals of Him and his Court in manners and discipline,

#### Paschal, Letter v.

Obedientia igitur irrationalis est consummata obedientia et persectissima: scilicet quando obeditur sine inquisitione rationis, sicut jumentum obedit Domino suo. Cusan Excitat, lib. vi.

Dico, nulla esse Christi Præcepta, nisi quæ per Ecclesiam pro talibus accepta sint. Mutato judicio Ecclesiæ, mutatum est et Dei judicium. Cusan, ad Bohemos, Ep. 3. p. 838.

cipline, is evident, not only because the Pope called the Council, which, according to antient custom, was the prerogative of the Emperour; and prefided at it by his Legates contrary to the practice of the First General Councils; but also, because he was tacitly acknowledged Superior to the Council, which was a new Doctrinet; nobody but his Legates were to propose any thing in the Council which was new Practice; the Bishops, who are the Successors of the Apostles, and the Ministers of Christ, and till now were believed to be fui juris, were now first called and treated as Delegates only of the Holy See "; all the Decrees were submitted to the Pope's approbation or rejection; all their Doctrines were subjected to his interpretation; all their Discipline to his dispensations \*. This was a very extraordinary complaifance, and not to have been expected, if they believed what they affirmed, that their Decrees were made by the affistance of the Holy Spirit: This was not only placing the Pope above the Council, and over the Universal Church, but it was exalting him above God himself; and whether that is a scriptural character of Christ's Vicar, or of Antichrift, let Laines, and Salmeron, and Champian, and Bellarmine, and Pallavicini, and Phillips judge. And that by these means they undid all the Transactions of the Council, and left the Pope fole Judge and Definer, is evident from Bugucempagno, Bishop of Bestice, in answer to those who dissuaded the Pope's confirmation, apprehending the Decrees too rigorous against the Court: Laws, said he, have no • power

power but what is given them by Him that governf eth, and hath the care to execute them; he, by his exposition, may give them a more ample, or a more strict sense, yea and contrary to that which the words do import.—If his Holiness will forbid all interpretations (which he accordingly did) even to the Judges also, and ordain that in all doubts f they shall come for exposition to the Apostolick See, 4 no man will be able to make afe of the Council in f prejudice of the Court, which by use, and by interpretations, may be accommodated to that which may be for the benefit of the Church." If they believed the Decrees were the Dictates of the Holy Ghost, what impiety thus to evade them! if they did not believe so, what prophaneness to publish them 2s fuch !

In the fourth Session 'a Decree passed concerning the Canonical books of Scripture, and the authority of Tradition. This was quite new, as to Tradition being a rule of faith, for Gabriel Biel toward the close of the foregoing Century determines, that the Scripture alone teaches all things necessary to Salvation. And in the Canon of Scripture they have reckoned Tobit, Judith, the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiassicus, Maccabees and Baruch, as well as the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon. Now Bellarmine himself acknowledges, that the Church can by no means make a book Canonical, which is not so, but only declare what is Canonical, and

<sup>#</sup> Fra. Paolo C. Trent. lib. 8. p. 817. \* Phil. p. 356.

Et cætera nostræ saluti necessaria, quæ omnia sola socet sacra scriptura. Lection. in Canon. Missæ. 71.

and that not at pleasure, but from antient Testimony . But antient Testimony tells us the Yews rejected these books as Apocryphal; and Ferome witnesses, the Church reads the books of Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, but doth not receive them among Canonical Scriptures b. Nay a Pope, Gregory I. rejected the book of Maccabees out of the Canon. Catharinus, who affisted at the Council, is honest enough to tell us, why they made (what Bellarmine c favs they cannot do) this book Canonical with the other apochryphal ones; because they are of great force against the Hereticks; for Purgatory is no where so expresly mentioned as in the Maccabees 4. They then declared the Valgate Latin Edition of the Scriptures to be authentick, for this reason, as Pallavicini allows, in opposition to the Lutherans, who drew their herefies from the Originals\*. Decrees they made, 5 that all may know ... what fuccours and Testimonies the Council intends to use 4 to confirm its Doctrine. Namely, Apocryphal Books for Canonical; Traditions as equal to the Scriptures; and a Version preferable to the Originals. As to Pacheco's proposal to forbid all modern versions

De Verbo Dei, lib. i. c. 11. Prolog. in libr. Salom. Greg. Moral. in Job. lib. 19. c. 17. Annot. in Cajet. p. 40. Decree of Seff. iv. Du Pin, p. 17.

<sup>\*</sup> Quid vecordius quem mirari, quod Synodus, cum vellet multa fidei dogmata statuere adversus hæreses, nixas præcipuè in oppugnatione illius Sacri Voluminis, quo mille annos communiter Ecclesia usa fuerit, tanquam primum ædiscii lapidem jaceret ipsam prædicti voluminis comprobationem. Conc. Trent. lib. vl. cap, 17. p, 605.

versions and interpretations of Scripture, Mr. Phillips reports it was dropped, and nothing more was faid on the subject. The truth was, he had offended the Legates by taking upon himself to propose, which they claimed as their fole office; but though they discountenanced Him, yet they put into their Decree, to stop wanton wits, it forbids all men whatsoever 4 to explane the Scriptures in things relating to Faith, and the Doctrine of Manners, by trusting to their own lights according to their particular fense, contrary to the senses which our Holy Mother the Church hath held, and does hold, to whom only it appertaineth to judge of the fense and inf terpretation of Scripture. Mr. Phillips's judgment in aid of this opinion is, that ' in times fo ' distant from the faith and teachable disposition of the primitive Christians, it may, perhaps, not be 4 expedient to put indifferently into the hands of all the world those facred oracles, of which God has e given the understanding to pure souls; and which the ignorant, according to St. Peter, wrest to their own destruction. h' The more distant times are from the faith of the primitive Christians, the more necessary it is to bring them acquainted with those facred oracles which teach it: which the ignorant in St. Peter's days could not have wrested, if St. Peter had thought, with his Successor, that the Scriptures should be withheld from them; a privilege they enjoyed till the Synod of Tholouse in the year 1228. It may be further urged, fays he, that the wifest nations have always removed the mysteries of

F. 356. Pallavic. lib. vi. c. 15. p. 592. cree Seff. iv. Du Pin, p. 17, P. 356.

religion from the approaches of the Vulgar, But one wife man, whom the wifest of those wifest mations, the Athenians, held in admiration for his furperior wisdom, Demonar the Cyprian, gives this reas fon for neglecting to be initiated into the Bleufmian mysteries; if any thing bad was concealed in them. he should divulge it to the uninitiated to preserve them from their delutions; if any thing good, his charity would induce him to publish ir to the World\*, What the Symbols concealed in these Mysteries were, my pen shall not revele : the Learned Reader may fee in the Note from Theodorett. Happy for Pachece, that he has found an Advocate fo claffically learned! Such is the learning which Mr. Phillibs thinks it fo very hard to facrifice to the Duty of studying Theology ! Such the Mysteries of the wifest nations which he compares to the Scriptures; and makes the concealment of the fhameful Symbols of the Eleusis and the Phallagogia a reason for hiding from the Vulgar the Oracles of God! He procedes, and Jefus Christ himself, who is the wisdom of God, often spake in parables, to conceal from gross understandings what he deis figured to revele in particular to his Disciples.17 If he ·

## i P. 357. E P. 8z. A P. 357.

1 Καὶ γιὰς ἀι τελεταὶ, καὶ τὰ δεγια, τὰ τέπον ἔιχεν ἐὐνιγμαῖα τὸν κίνα μεν Βλευσὶς, ἡ Φαλλοψογία δὲ τὸν φάλλω. Therap. lib. vii.

<sup>\*</sup> Τρός δε θάτερον το των μυτηρίων, τάυτην έφη έχειν την επτάνταν, τε μη κοινωνήσαι σφίσι της τελετής, ότι άν τε φαθλα ή τα μυτηρία, ε σιωπήσελαι πρός τες μηθέπω μεμισημένας; άλλ αποτρέψει άθθες των έργιων άν τε καλώ, πῶσιι άθλε ξαγοςένσειν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας. Lucian in Demonact. vit? p. 1002. editio Bened.

he means a temporary concealment from unbelieving and malicious Hearers, that will by no means anfwer our Author's purpose: if he means a lasting one from the generality of Christians, Christ himself asfures us he had no fuch defign; for he exprest commanded, what I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops m. Elsewhere, he tells us an observation of Bishop White, ' that when Men depart from the authority of the church, they lose all Criterion 's of truth and falsehood, in matters of religion, and must necessarily be carried about by every wind of docfrine." This fingle authority in support of an affertion so dishonourable to Reason and the written word of God, I shall oppose with two, each of them of greater eminence in that Church than White was. The one is the celebrated Canonist, Panormitanus, ' If any private person in matters of faith hath better reafon out of Scripture than the Pope, his saying is to be preferred above the Pope's. 'The other is Gerson, accounted the greatest Divine of his time, 'If a man be well skilled in Scripture, his Doctrine deserves more to be regarded than the Pope's Declaration: --- And again, if in a General Council he finds the Majority incline to that part which is contrary to Scripture, he is bound to oppose it.p? In the article of Justification the Biographer tells

us, 'This Decree, as it now stands, was found among the Cardinal's papers, and published with fome other writings of his, by his Chamberlain Pening.---Nor can any instance do more honor to 'his

m Matth. x. 27. n P. 446. ° Cap. fignifit. castr. de Electral. P Examen Doctrin. part. 1, Conf. 5. 6.

his Memory, than that the whole Catholick Church fhould confider him as a particular instrument of the Divine Spirit, in declaring a doctrine so much contradicted by the Innovators, and on which for venerable a Body as the Council of Trent should defer to his opinion with fuch a fignification of their efteem. Cardinal Pole was First Legate, and obliged by illness to remove from Trent to Trevilla near Padua; his Collegues did not fend to him to draw up " the Decree, but fent him the Decree which they had drawn up for his Opinion. He returned it in four days; whether with any corrections of his or not, I think, does not appear. Pallavicini fays, his opinion was willingly received; but whether it was more than a civil approbation and acquiescence in theirs I recollect no authority to fay: I should rather apprehend that it was not more, from his Letter to his Collegues 5 Oct. from which his Biographer quotes this paragraph, I have received a Copy of the De-" cree concerning Justification, on which your Lordfhips are pleafed to afk my opinion: and to be fincere, I don't fee what I can fay on the Subject, as it contains many things, on which I should defire an explanation, which, being absent I cannot have. Besides I am too much out of order to be in a condition to think, much less to write on a matter of fuch importance. So that the Decree, written at full length in his own hand, being found among his papers, is rather a proof, that he copied, for his own use, the Decree which the Council had fent him, and he returned in four days; than that the Council considered him as a particular instrument of the Divine

9 P. 369. P. 367.

Divine Spirit, in declaring a dostrine so much contradisted by the Innovators:

And that Pale did not entirely condemn the Lutheran doctrine of Justification appears with more evidence than what Mr. Phillips produces for his drawing up the article that condemns it: entring on the Subject as presiding Legate, advised them to read the Adversaries books, and that without prejudice, nor think it sufficient for condemning an opinion, to say, Luther taught thus; left, like Pighius, while they endeavoured to shew their aversion to Luther, they heedlessly went over to the herefy of Pelagius ". when his friend Contareni's Nephew, the Bishop of Bellung, delivered his opinion, it was disrelished, as agreeing with the Lutherans, and which they suppered he had received from his Uncle w; with whom Pele is allowed by Mr. Phillips to have agreed . Nay, when Pole would vindicate himself from agreeing with the Protestants in this article, he proves that he did agree with them; for he fays he learned it from Scripture, from whence they drew their doctrine, in reconciling St. Paul and St. James 7: the first, as the Protestants distinguish in the Colloquy at Ratisbone, was the justification by faith previous to works; the other the reward of that obedience which was the fruit of it 2.

But whether Pole drew up the Decree of the Council or not, relates only to the History of Him,

t P. 369. Pallavic. Conc. Trid. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 709. C. 4. p. 723. P. 286. P. 365. Bucer Disputata Ratishonæ, anno 1546. p. 302.

in which I think Mr. Phillips mistaken; but the Decree itself is recommended, as very luminous and comprehensive, equal to any plan of doctrine of former Councils or of any other writings : It was so comprehensive, as to be three months aftering and accommodating to the contrary opinions of the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Thomists and Scotists; insomuch that the contradictory Comments of Soto and Vega claimed the authority of this Decree : it was so luminous, that they purposely left us in the dark, whether the Virgin Mary was conceived in fin or not; whether man had free will or not; whether he could or could not have a certainty of faith; Whether he was or was not predestinated; whether fufficient grace was or was not infufficient: fo Rudied was this obscurity, that the French Ambassadour gives this general character of their procedings, that whereas other men speak on purpose to be imderflood, that is what these Fathers least intended : but though so reserved in their Decrees, with respect to the variety of their own opinions, they were profuse in their Canons to condemn the Lutherans' and Zillinglians. It was faid, that in all the Councils: held in the Church, from the Apollles time till then, there were never fo many articles decided as in this fixth Seffion only, by the help of Aristotle, without whose affiftance we had wanted many articles of Faith b.

The point itself, the doctrine of Justification, is, according to Pallavicini, the Criterion of a Catholick

P. 368. Fra. Paolo, lib. 2. 10. 228.

<sup>\*</sup> Cæteri homines loquantur ut intelligi possite isti nihil minus volunt quam ut intelligantur.

Lick or Heretick, the root of truth or error! And indeed we shall find most of the Novelties in the Creed of Pius IV. derived from this source.

Justification, according to the Scriptures, confiss, partly in not imputing our fins to us; and partly in imputing rightcousness to us on account of Christ's rightcousness. 2 Cor. v. 19. Phil. iii. 9. Rom. v. 18, 19. Now if the Council admit this; there is reason to suspect, that their acknowledgment of the truth was owing to the Protestants; for in the Conferences at Ratisbone, the very year before the Decree passed, Malvenda and his Collegues on the side of the Catholicks maintained, that it was absurd and unworthy of God to ascribe to him the not imputing to a man the sin he was guilty of, and imputing to him the rightcousness which was not his c.

This Justification has no respect to our Works, except that Faith is necessary to apprehend and lay hold of it, Rom. iii. 28. And the Decree expressy says of works done before Justification, what it might have said also of Works done after it, that they have no merit in them. Yet Pallavicini says, they meant to affirm a merit of congruity d: but if the majority really meant so, they purposely intended not to express it, to oblige the Deminicans, who said the discontinuous

Diffutata Ratisbonz in altero colloquio, p. 222, 227. 4 Soff. vi. cap. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Justificationis dogma tessera quodammodò erat, qua Catholici ab hæreticis discernebantur, et radix, unde veluti quidam rami reliqua seu vera seu falsa dogmata pullulahant. Conc. Trid. 1. 8. c. 11. p. 752.

tinction of congruous and condign merit was never heard of in the primitive Church, and should be entirely dropped, as giving offence to the Lutherans.

With the remission of sin, sealed to us by the Sacrament of Baptism, or washing of water, was also given the Holy Spirit for our Sanctification, to enable us to perform such evangelical works as God has commanded. John iii. 5. Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7. This leads to consider Justification in two distinct views; one, as we are conditionally affured of it by the merits of Christ and the promises of the Gospel; the other, as we actually receive it by the performance of that Condition which is Faith. This diffinction, tended to, had unravelled the difficulties which the Fathers of the Council were in about the Certainty of Justification; and might have prevented the errors in the ninth Chapter, forbidding any to boast of being certain that they are forgiven by the alone free Grace of God through Jesus Christ, as if he, that had not this Faith, doubted of the promises of God, and of the efficacy of the death of Christ. Now with respect to Justification in the first view, this belief is our Duty; for it rests on the satisfaction of Christ, which is all sufficient; and on the promise of God which is infallible; but with respect to Justification in the other view, to which our concurrence with the Spirit of Sanctification is required, Council might truly determine, that ' a Christian may, confidering his own weakness and indisposition without any doubt of the Mercies of God, the merits of fefus Christ, and the virtue of the Sacraments,

Du Pin, Cent. XVI. b. iii. c. 2. p. 35. Seff. vi. cap 9.

fear that he is not in a state of Grace. Boffuet might hence have spared his charge of inconsistency in the Lutherans, concerning the Certainty and Uncertainty of Justification which they taught h; for he might have feen it clearly enough stated by themfelves in the Ratisbone Conference, the certainty being grounded firmly on God's Grace for Justification in the first view; and the doubts rising from a consciousness of our impersect obedience in the latter\*. With respect to which they form two conclusions; the first truly, ' that no man let him be never so justified, ought to look upon himself as exempt from keeping the Commandments of God.1' For we were not only suaffed, but also sanctified, I Cor. vi. 11. the renewing of the Holy Ghost being given to enable us to keep those commandments: but then they unwarrantably forbad every man to affert this rash proposition, that the observation of these commandments is impossible to one that is justified: and determined, that these commands are not above the strength of man, aided by the assistance of God, 'Now, from that concupifcence which they acknowledge to remain in those that are baptized O 3 to

<sup>\*</sup> Seff. vi. cap 9. h Des variat. lib. i. i Seff. vi. cap. 11. \* Seff. vi. cap. 11.

<sup>\*</sup> Credens Christo habet duplicem justitiam, et Christi, propter quam à Deo in gratiam recipitur, et in se inchoatam per Spiritum Sanctum, quæ recepto in gratiam confertur: illam accipit et habet side tantum, hanc side et re ipsa, quanquam impersectam: illaq; nititur, confidens de gratia Dei: hac minime, non enim satisfacit ista legi Dei. Disputata Ratisbonæ in altero Colloquio, ann. 1546, p. 222.

to exercise them !; and from that considerably dimenified and bent down Free Will", which they also great, the obedience of men is imperfect in various degrees; and accordingly they admit, with no little contradiction, that ' the justest men fall into daily Sines. which are called Venial." How then can they fay, that obedience is possible to all the justified which the justest men never performed? but they were constrained to decree these contradictions is for if it were impossible for men to do as much as God requires of them, where would there be room for works of Supererogation? and then would fall into bankruptcy that rich Treasury of the Church, which is to deliver from Purgatory: And if the justest men could live without falling into Venial Sins, the market for penances and auricular Confession would be much thinned. If they mean a possibility of keeping the Commandments in an evangelical fense, so as to have their imperfections pardoned for the fake of Gbriss fatisfaction, that wiff equally overthrow Works of Supererogation; for the obedience of the best being imperfect and accepted only for Christ's sake, they can have no redundancy of merit to overflow to others! nay, could a man do more than would fuffice to his Acceptance, that could but encrease his own future happiness, not enable him to transfer any part of his good works to others. And if they mean by venial Sins, only those imperfections of obedience which for Christ's sake will be pardoned on such conditions as are required in the Gospel, their market for penances

<sup>1</sup> Seff. v. cap. 5. Seff. vi. cap. 1. Seff. vi. cap. 11.

nances and auricular Confession will be equally un-

. For in remedy of these impersections the Scriptures direct us to contrition. Luke xv. 21. xxiv. 47. 2. John i. 8. 9. amendment of life, 2 Cor. vii. 10. Lukeiii. 8. Ezek, xviii. 27. and renewal of the Covenant in his-blood, Matth. xxvi. 26. Luke xxii. 36, 20. But here the mystery of iniquity works powerfully in the Church of Rame; requiring, inthead thereof, Confession of our Sins to a Priest, Absolution from him, with Satisfaction by Penance .: The two first superfeding the necessity of Contrition, or that godly forrow for fin which flows from aclove of God; and the last makes amendment needless. "For they teach in this Decree, that Contrition, including the love of God, without confession and absolution or the defire of it, is not sufficient p; and that Attrition, a forrow for Sin through fear of wanishment, without the love of God, is sufficient: thereby making confession to a Priest and absolution more viecessary to remission of Sins, than the Love sef-Gnd; contrary, not only to Scripture, but to vibrir own Church too, even so late as the beginning of the thirteenth Century, as was feen before from declaration of Pope Innocent III. Confession to God is necessary, both in publick and private; but private confession to a Priest, though we recommend it in cases of doubtful or unquiet consciences, we do not injoin as absolutely necessary to salvation. And if the Doctrine of the Church of Rome can be doubted

<sup>•</sup> Sess. vi. cap. 14. P Sess. xiv. cap. 4. • Com-

doubted of in this point, the Jesuits are explicit em nough in their decisions; They teach; that Atmition, from natural motives, and not from the Grace of God, is sufficient for the Sacrament (of Penance); and that Contrition, as it effaces Sin by its own offcacy, would leave nothing for that Sacrament to do. and therefore is not at all necessary towards obtaining the principal effect of the Sacrament, but on the contrary is rather an obstacle. And consequently that they are not required to love God, is boldly avowed, teaching, that this exemption from loving God is the great benefit or advantage which Fefus Christ has brought down upon the Earth, for fear of over-charging the Ungodly, and those that hate, God, with too heavy a burthen. So teach Henriquez, Vasquez, Layman, Lopez and others. And when the Love of God is thus extinguished, no wonder that amendment of life is also evacuated: 1. by the satisfaction of Penance. Where the Good Works (as they are called by Papists) injoined by the Priest, shall atone for offences against the weightier matters of the law, fuch as repeting a number of Pater Nosters, Ave Marias, going in pilgrimage, wearing habits, and other fanciful impolitions, as if they had merit to atone for breaches of the Moral Law; or 2. by fastings and prayers, which may be performed by substitutes; or 3. by imposed lashings or other severities, which may be bought off for money. This was one of the great abuses complained of by the Germans in their Centum Gravamina, ' that 'they

Pasch. Letters, let. x. p. 220. See Pasch. p. 227. and Allix on Penance.

they invented many reformations not so much to the good of the people, as their own private gain.

And that Ecclesiastical judges did extend and aggravate the punishments so far, that Laicks were forced to redeme them with money; by which means the Laicks were impoverished, and the Clergy chricked. Which abuse the Council of Front established in her Decrees of Justification and Renarce.

From the same unfull and oppressive thirst of gain were derived the following abuses, confirmed by that Antichristian Council: The Sacrifice of the Mass, not commemorating therein the one perfect and fufficient facrifice of Christ, as the Institutor ordained, but making atonement for Sins by the offering of the Priest, to be applied for the Salvation of those who partook not of it, but who paid the Priest for receiving it for them. That it is a propitiatory Sacrifice is a novel doctrine even in the Roman Church, for Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel, much later, speak of it only as Protestants do, as a commemoration, representing the Sacrifice of the Cross, and applying to worthy receivers the benefits of it, because the Images of things are called by the names of the things they represent; and because by this Sacrament we are made Partakers of the Benefits of Christ's Passion ".

For this reason Purgatory was built for invented punishments, from which Sinners might be delivered, who, by themselves, or their friends, could afford to pay their ransom. A Doctrine unknown to the Latin Church, says Pole's Idol, Bishop Fisher,

Cent. Grav. art. Ixvi, Ixvii. Summæ Par. iii. Q. 83, Art. c. 1. Respond.

till lately; and which to this day is not believed by the Greek ...

Indulgences were still later, by the confession of the fame Writer, as they began with mens fears of Purgatory. A remission from the publick penance injoined by the Church was practiced early, when that primitive discipline prevaled; but a remission from Sin and the punishment of it in Purgatory, and that too for fale, and on wordly conditions, by the grant of indulgences, was not earlier than the days of Gregory VII. to purchase assistance in his Wars against Henry IV. After his time they were granted to maintain the Holy Wars; then periodically every one hundred years, next fifty, now every twentyfive years plenury indulgences are granted; beside occasionally, as those of Julius IL and Les X. for building St. Peter's at Rome, which occasioned the Reformation. : And which the Council of Trent eftablished, though they acknowledged abuses in the Sale of them . The scandalous Sale indeed they forbid: with what effect we may judge by the Pope's Bull granted to late as the year 1729 for raifing money to put his late Majesty and the Royal Family to the Sword, of which the purport was as follows; that every Communicant duly confessing and receiving upon the Patron days of every respective Parish,

and any Sunday from the 1st of May to September,

having repeted the Lord's Prayer five times, and

once the Apostles Creed, upon paying two pence each

Time, was to have a Plenary Indulgence for their Sins

. T. Contra Luth. art. 18. \* Seff. xxv. Palav. Con. Trid. lib. xxiv. cap. 8.

Sins: And all approved Confessors had a full power to absolve in all cases. With intent, that God would speedily place King James the Third on the Throne of England. The money so raised was to be paid to the several agents of every Province, who were to remit it to the Pretender's Friends in England, France, Germany, and Spain. As appears from the Information of John Hennessy, Papist Priest of the United Parishes of Donerayle in the Kingdom of

Ireland y.

For the same purpose (of raising money, I mean) the Council also established the Invocation of Saints. the worship of Images and Reliques. The rich offerings made at the Shrines of those Saints, where their Images or Reliques were worthipped, as was feen before by the annual Sums given at the Shrine of that Rebel of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, planely discover the reason of continuing this scandalous at buse. All, not only not supported by Scripture; but contrary to it, and subversive of the Gospel: derogating from the efficacy of Christ's Sacrifice and Intercession, and obstructing the Salvation of Souls by eradicating the Love of God out of them, supplying the defect by a Priest's Absolution; and extinguishing the necessity of every one's personal Holiness by teaching them to depend on that of others, applied for money. This practice of worshipping Saints, their Reliques and Images Mr. Phillips tells us was observed in the Catholick and Apostolick Church, 4 and received from the earliest times of Christiani-

y A Report from the Committee appointed to inspect the Original Papers, &c. Mercurii, 19 Die Decembris, 1731. (In the Irish Parliament.)

5 ty2; but the Jefult Salmeron, who was the Pope's Divine in this Council, admits that the Apostles and Evangelists concealed (this now mecessary) Doctrine from Yews and Gentiles ! because it bad been bard to require it of the former, who had been taught to worship God only; and because by it occasion bad been given to the other to think, that many Gods were now offered them, instead of that multitude of Gods, which they had for laken. So that this Jesuit thinks that a dishonor to God, which was forbidden to the Jews, and is condemned in the Heathens, is the Duty of a Christian. We have not so learned Christ: on whose sole mediation we with fure confidence rely, though one of their Church says, one Advocate or Mediator in Heaven is not sufficient for Mankind, which has so many causes of the highest and most dangerous consequence depending before God; Let us make bim a meet Help, i. c. the Bleffed Virgin .

In the Chapter of Transubstantiation, the Biographer says, the Fathers are silent as to the manner, by which the Body of our Lord becomes present in the Eucharist: and in this have set the Schools a lesson of that decent reservedness, which they ill observed before, and have as little attended to since. Certainly the Fathers were not silent as to the manner by which our Lord becomes present in the Eucharist; for ch. iv. it says, the Church declares, that by the consecration of bread and wine there is made a change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of our Lord, and

<sup>\*</sup> P. 413. 
\* Salmer in 1 Tim. ii. Difp. 8. 
Henno. in Wieel. Elench. Abuf. p. 125. 
\* P. 384.

and of the whole substance of the wine into the sub-Stance of his blood; and this change has been called Transabstantiation by the Catholick Church, which is a proper and fuitable name for it. But if he means, that the Council have not explaned bow this Transubstantiation can possibly be, it is a reservedness that their Church is likely to imitate as long as the World lasts. The ridiculous attempts of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the Council, taught them this prudence: I though they quarrelled much about it; the Dominicans afferting that the bread was changed into the body of Jesus Christ; the Cordeliers, that his body succeeded into the place of the evanescent Elements. Both agreed that the Body continued in Heaven without removing, at the same time that it was substantially present in the Eucharist. In Heaven it existed substantially with extension: in the Eucharist, substantially without extension. In Heaven naturally; in the Sacrament, (say the Cordeliers) miraculously: (fay the Dominicans) in a fingular way which cannot be expressed by any name that agrees with other modes of existence. But while the Fathers seemed ashamed of these absurdities, and chose to be filent as to the manner of Tranfubftantiation rather than give fuch unintelligible explications of it, it was referved for the adventurous pen of Cardinal Pole to avow the abfurdities. and make them an argument for the truth of his doctrine. For so in his Letter to Cranner he har the hardiness to affert; 'you endeavour to avoid the 'abfurdity

d Pallav. lib. xii. c. 6. p. 296. e Du Pin, lib. 3. c. 7. p. 105.

ablardity of Transhbitantiation, by interpreting it a Sign, (or Sacramental change:) but that this is not the true fense of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is proved by this very argument, that such an interpretation is more agreeable to human reason.' And again, "we deny not, but that your interpretation is more probable; but as I often told you, the more s probable, the more contrary to the meaning of 5 Christ. For nothing leads us further from the meaning of Chris's words in this Sacrament, than s an interpretation of them that shall appear probable to our common fense and understanding\*. Such was the judgment of this all-accomplished Churchman, who burned his Antagonist for not believing, what he not only acknowledged, but, maintained was abfurd. Since then the Council of Trent has decreed Doctrines avowedly contrary to the evidence of Sense, Reason, and Scripture, to establish errors which

A Cum enim Judæi, cum sapientes audiunt panem illum et vinum consecratum converti in corpus et sanguinem Christi, id illis ita videtur absurdum, ut nihil ab humano ingenio excogitari possit absurdius. Tu verò ad hoc absurdum tollendum, fic rem interpreteris, ut dicas, panem et vinum esse tantum signa, quibus admonemur mortis Christi, quam pro nobis passus est: Atqui hunc non esse verum de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi sensum, vel hoe ipsum declarat, quod is humanæ rationi magis accommodatus est. Pol. de Eucharist. p. 22. à tergo. Quæ de hoc Sacramento dicis, probabiliter dici non negamus; sed quo probabilius, ut'sæpe jam dixi, eo magis est à Christi sententia alienum. Nihil enim longius à sensu verborum Christi in hoc Sacramento nos retrahit, quam que sensui et intellectui nostro probabilis affertur interpretatio verborum Christi. Ibid. p. 44. which the Christian World complained of and called aloud to have reformed, the deluded Nations had reafen to refort this imperious treatment and come out of Balgian, that they be not partakers of her Sins'. The emband scope of the Council is thus given by one of their own Communion, 'this was the Islue and 'aim of the Inont Reformation, that no respect hould be had to truth, but to show, and outward 'pomp only; and that all things should be refered to the splender and profit of the Roman Court\*.

. In the reigns of Henry and Edward §. 20. Re-..Mr. Phillips is extremely abulive; I flections on K. shall leave him to a scourge severer Henry and Duke than any with which I can lash him. of Somerfet. let the rancour of his own heart be his punishment: how false he has been in these reflections, will, I dare fay, be flewn by others; how injudicious he has been in fingling some of his instances, perhaps he himself is not aware of. In blackening Henry's reign he tells us, he had alrea-' dy followed him through the various scenes of guilt which diverlified the several periods of it, after he had left the laudable path in which he first fet out.3' But where are we to find this laudable part in Mr. Phillips's account of him? he tells us, an im-

#### f Revel. xviii. 4. # P. 430.

\* Hic Tridentinæ Reformationis fuit exitus et scopus, ut nihil ad veritatem, sed in quandam speciem et pompam externam, atq; ad privatum Curiæ Romanæ splendorem et commodum cuncta referrentur. Richerus, Hist. Conc. General. lib. iv. p. 245, 246.

immoderate propension to pleasure, which west through his whole reign, distinguished the beginning of it, and he had scarce filled the throne, when the Court, from a scene of sordid frugality, which it had been in his Father's time, immediately became the seat of voluptuousness and prodigality. Such, according to Mr. Phillips, was the laudable part of his life! Pole's artifice was to render Henry odious by contrasting the dark part of his character after his desection from Rome, with the brilliancy in which he had shone before: his Biographer, with the same malevolence, blunders in the execution, and spoiled the contrast, by painting him black from beginning to end.

He gives us an obscure account from Pale of the King's breach of faith; when, or to whom is not mentioned. As I by no means intend to vindicate all Henry's actions, so neither can I give credit to Pole upon so indistinct a charge against him. I defign not to enquire into the fact, whether true or false: but I am surprised at Mr. Phillips's indiscretion in characterifing this supposed breach of faith in the manner he does; for if it proves that ' the disposition of those guilty of it are the pattern of comoplete worthlessness i: then the treatment of John Huss, and the collusive safe-conduct intended for the German Protestants in the Council of Trent, are notorious testimonies of the complete worthlessness of the Church of Rome, by the concession of this strenuous and able Advocate.

In reporting the death of *Henry* he tells us, 'that 'his end approaching, he called for a large draught

h P. 29. 1 P. 443.

white Wine, and, turning to the person who presented it, faid, all was lost, and having drank off the goblet, gave up the ghost. And that in his last moments he was overheard to mutter often the word Monk, the natural refult of a mind labouring with guilt, and haunted by those spectres, which the wrongs he had done to that body of " men, raifed.k" When thefe haft moments were. in which he muttered often the word Monk, will be hard to find; whether they were before those when he called for wine, despaired, drank off the goblet, and gave up the ghost, or, as they stand in his Narrative, after he had given up the ghost: Sanders, from whomheborrows the fubstance of this Romance, though . a false witness, yet delivers his evidence with more confiftency; after drinking the wine, with his dying voice he was heard to mutter the word Monks, and so expired. It is this Biographer's misfortune to pick up the most malicious anecdotes he can, from the worst authorities, and then render them more ridiculous by his affectation of improving them. The Fast appears to have been otherwise, upon much better evidence than Sanders, one of those Writers, whose reports Quirini and our Biographer from him (though without naming Sanders) rejects, as destitute of foundation. Thus he reports a falle fact on purpose to infer uncharitably a guilty conscience haunt-

# ₽ P. 435.

Cum de instanti mortis articulo ab amicis admoneretur, pateram vini albi poposcit, atque ad unum è suis conversus, omnia (inquit) perdidimus; inter mortuis deinde vocibus monachorum nomen aliquoties ingeminasse dicitur, atque ita expirasse. De Schismate Anglicano, lib. i.

ed by spectres, raised by the wrongs which he had done the Monks. How then will he interpret the real terrors of Crescentio, the Pope's Legate at the Council of Trent; who, having been concerned in the fecret villanies of that affociation, confemned the Protestants without hearing their defence, concealed the Confession they had delivered to shim'to communicate to the Council, and planned that treacherous safe-conduct above-mentioned, in the midst of these transactions was seized with frensy by the vision or apprehension of a great black dog. making at him, which could not be found, and died. crying out to those who were about him to beat off the dog that clambered up upon the bed!. Was this the natural refult of a mind laboring with guilt, and haunted by those spectres, which the wrongs he had done to the Protestants raised? If so, the Council. of Trent will stand condemned: if Mr. Phillips refolves it into distemper of body, then Henry might have muttered, Monks, in his last moments, without its being the natural result of a mind laboring with guilt. But Mr. Phillips has reported a false fact on. purpose to infer an uncharitable Conclusion: I have reported a true fact, but have more charity than to judge the heart with which I am unacquainted.

Mentioning some pious works of Henry, at his close of life, among the rest, his suppressing the stews on the Bankside, he says, they have an æquivocal resemblance of goodness ": So loath is he to allow any thing good in this Prince. Yet sure he must allow, that if the suppressing the stews had only an equivocal resemblance of goodness, the intention of Pole.

to:

<sup>1</sup> Sleid. B. xxiii. ad calcem. P. 435.

to erest them again after they had been suppressed, had not fo much as any refemblance of goodness at all in it. The last instance of this kind I shall mention is in King Edward's reign; representing a picture of impious greatness, in which the Reader may view. in one shagle group, all the different images, of which rapine can be composed." Somerset House, he tells us, was built on the ruins of the Deanery, and Close of Westminster, of the Parish Church of the Virgin Mary, and of three Episcopal Houses." Now this is news to us, that Somerfet House should shand at once in the Close at Westminster, and in the Strand too: but if he had attended to his Historian, Heyling for to the Popish Book, entitled, Historical Colhelions out of several grave Protestant Historians, printed in 1674, from which I rather suppose he snatched, it, he would see that it is expresly taken notice of that the Protector, intending to erect a magnificent Palace, was bought out of his delign of building it on the Deanery and Close of Westminster, and theresome cast his eyes upon a piece of ground in the Strand. Among other Mistakes, he has forgot to mention the blowing up the Church of St. John of Ferusalem near Smithfield, mentioned by Heylin, and the curious Bell-Tower belonging to it, mentioned by Some. This I mention from a regard to truth. to perfect that detail of impious greatness, of which our Biographer supposes ' the whole Records of Christianity do not furnish another such example. What, no example of impious Greatness, that employed Church Materials for building a stately Palace to itfelf? How came St. Peter's at Rome to be so long

P. 443. P. 444. Phid.

in building, when Europe had been exhausted for the purpose? a Benedictine Monk informs us, notwith-Anding the countless treasures lost to Lee X. by Julius II. to go on with this noble structure, and the money diligently heaped up from every quarter by the fale of Indulgences, under pretext of this magnificent building, the work went flowly on; for the stones that were provided for it, and sawed out in the day, were conveyed away in the night, for the erecting for himself the superb Florentine Medicearr Palace\*. Thus the Vicar of Christ abused the picty of Christians, and impoverished them to feed his own pride, and converted the materials intended to St. Peter's Honor, to his own. Whereas Somerset, except the Parish Church of St. Mary le Strand, used only the old materials of Houses and desecrated piles of stone; for the districts belonging to St. Ewen and St. Nicholas had been added to the Parish of Christ-Church by King Henry, so that those Churches remained without use; and that of St. James of Jerufalem had been converted into a storehouse for toiles, tents, and implements of War by the fame King. So that while Somer let House was built from useless heaps of frone

Præterea ex cunctis sidelium regionibus, præsertium Germania mediantibus indulgentiorum commissariis, sub specie fabricæ basilicæ Sancti Petri pecuniam omnimodis aggregare serventissime annisus est: tametsi ad dictæ fabricæ consummationem prædecessor suns Julius Papa, qui candem operose et magniscè inceptarat, thesaurum seliquerit innumerabilem. Nihil secius et lentè et segniter cceptum opus progreditur. Nec mirum, cum lapides secti indie, noctu (ut dicitur) ad palatium grande Florentinorum de Medicis dictum, quod nunc construitur, clam deserantur. Paulus Langius in Chronica Citizensi, sol. 897.

stone, the Medicean Palace was reared by seizing the materials intended for God's House; and while the Duke of Somerset injured only three Bishops, rapacious Leo cheated all Europe.

The Cardinal's conduct in the Con-§. 21. Pole, clave with relation to the Papacy, a Candidate for which his Historian fays, was an exthe Papacy. ample of Moderation which he had neither heard or read of before; and which the Conclavists could resolve into nothing but insensibility, is eafily accounted for by the leading point he always had in view, and his wonted irrefolution whether to accept or refuse a tempting offer, which was inconfistent with a greater in expectation. when the Papacy was proposed to him, choosing rather to wear a crown inheritable by his Descendents. than the barren honors of the Papacy which must die with him, he was no more affected, as himself declares, than if he had been one of those animals. who do not covet honors, because they have no perception of them. 9' When Farnese brought him word, that a sufficient number had acceded to give him the Papacy, and defired him to receive the homage which is paid on the like occasions, he defired to put it off to the next morning: but the near prospect of that high honor now beginning to operate, when two others of the facred College came to him on the fame Commission, he assented to do as they would have him; but they were no fooner gone, than his first views returning, he repented of the affent he had given, and fent one of his Domesticks P 3

9 P. 432.

to entreat those Cardinals, whose authority was greatest, that the affair, if possible, might be put off till next morning. He found it possible enough; for disgusted at his irresoluteness, which endangered the influence and weight of his Friends, they all forfook him, and chose another. The ambition of the Yorkist, and the Dappocaggine or fickleness peculiar to himself, account for this whole conduct; which instead of being an unexampled moderation void of all ambition, was only the suspense of his mind divided betwixt two objects of that passion. One of which was his great aim, and in the pursuit of it, he acted violently and like a madman; the possession was so strong, that it forced him to behave contrary to his natural bent, which was meek and gentle: and urged him to attempts, which made his friends. who knew his natural good fenfe, to wonder at his rafh. ness. And if any other bait to his ambition interfered. which appeared not confistent with his principal, but distant view, though it was not strong enough to make him eager to lay hold of it, yet it drew his attention and left him indetermined. The Princess Mary was still living, still unmarried. After the seditions in England were quelled, and the Princes of Europe had shewn, that they chose rather to make him their Dupe, than be themselves Dupes to him, he had no hopes left during the reign of Henry: yet no sooner did he hear of the King's death, than his infatuation revived, and being then at Rome with the Pope he easily obtained to be appointed his Legate to England (if they would receive him) to restore his hopes in that Kingdom. He therefore writes to the Counsellors, ' That although he had heard of the King's death, yet he knew not to whom the reins

of government were committed, nor what was the flate of things in that Kingdom: yet he knew. whatever was to be done, or had been done, must be confirmed in Parliament. And several things occurring to him of great importance, which, if they did not consider and determine as justice and piety perswaded, the whole Kingdom would be in the utmost danger; He therefore fent them this notice by a special messenger, lest any delay might prevent the reception of his falutary advice. Then mentioning his pretended private injuries, which were the just punishment of his seditious behaviour. he returns to the publick concerns; on which he offers them his advice, under the influence of his Holiness, who, he assures them, is able and willing to protect them, through the ministration of himself (Pole) who is very capable of giving them 6 good advice, and to afford them a proper remedy, provided they will be but as ready to receive, as he is to give them both." But whatever changes in government, or the administration of it, his frenzy might dream of, the Council would not receive either his messenger or his letters. What where the particulars of the advice he would have given, I have no authority to fay; but that in general it was for the interest of the Princess Mary, I think appears from a Letter of his to her, afterwards, when she became Queen, in which he tells her, ' he had never omitted any opportunity of endeavouring to ferve her. although his endeavours had not succeded. frequent disappointments, and the deaths of his chief Italian Friends, and the Marchioness of Pescara, P 4 funk

Pol. Ep. vol. iv. ep. 23. Vol. iv. Ep. 43.

funk him into a despair and disrelish of the world, from which, and from his government at Viterbo, he obtained the Pope's leave to retire. But dead to the World as he appeared to be: no fooner did the Princels Mary come to the crown of England, than all his disgust of it vanished, the train of ambition catched fire, he shook off all his Monkery, and again condescends to be employed in publick business, and to be fent Legate into England: His beloved and loving Princess wore the crown; with whom did she appear more inclined to share it than with him. who had hitherto kept himself out of Priest's Orders, that his return to the secular World might not be impracticable? a permission to lay down the Purple before entering into the Priesthood being to be obtained without much difficulty: though he had labored at the time, that even that difficulty might not have lain in his way. Accordingly in the English Councils he was one of the three proposed for the new Queen's Husband\*. But the Emperour, who intended her for his Son, Philip II. of Spain, one of those three, and was no stranger to Pole's defigns, counteracted them, and prevented his going over into England, till the Queen's marriage with his Son was effected. This Dudithius does not scruple to acknowledge, as well as Beccatelli, ' Cæfar, fays he, as it afterwards appeared, was defirous f that

Il estoit bien informé qu'il y avoit des gens dans Londres, qui vouloient que la Reine épousast le Cardinal Polus. On disoit que la Reine mesme n'avoit pas, sort rejetté celle proposition, & qu'elle avoit demandé à Commendon, si le Pape pouvoit dispenser un Cardinal Diacre pour le marriage. La Vie du Cardin. Commendon, par M. Flechier, 1. 1. c. 12.

that the Queen should be married to his Son Philip. Which marriage the English did not approve : nor was Casar ignorant, how much the Queen, and e many leading men in England favored Pole; he therefore took care that Pole's visit there should onot obstruct that marriage; and kept him in ex-\* pectation of a fit time, till the Parliament had confented to her marrying King Philip. Thus we see the master spring of all his actions, which had imprest a motion upon another principal wheel, which he judged necessary to effect his purpose: this was to maintain the Pope's Supremacy in order to avale himself of his power and influence. When this main aim was defeated by the marriage of Philip, the other point, which he had purfued in order to obtain it, grew itself into an object; and could not with credit be deferted, especially when so fair an opportunity offered of attaining it, and at the fame time invited him to ample honors and provisions in his native Country, from which having been fo long exiled, he was not so insensible, as not to defire to return to it again in triumph.

Such was Reginald Pole, to whom Biographer's apparent aim in given credit, for gentleness of manphis performance. ners, piety, and learning: whose as after Mr. Phillips has imprudently disturbed, and by provoking a scrutiny into his principles, prevented that oblivion into which his injured Countrymen were suffering his name to sink, and awakened him to everlasting infamy. Had Mr. Phillips

1 Vitz Reg. Pol. p. 23.

Phillips indulged his veneration for Reginald Poles by a panegyrick on his noble birth, meek disposition, and polite accomplishments, though his praise had risen to a strain which sobriety of thought could not always approve, yet, I suppose, none would have disturbed him in scattering with a full hand the riches flowers of his rhetorick: but he distained a respect which would have been of so little use to the cause he undertook. Pole's merit with this loyal English Subject, in the Communion of the Church of Rome. was his base ingratitude to his Benefactor whom he supposed to be an Heretick; his traiterous attempts to deprive the King of his Supremacy; and his fervile endeavours to fubmit the necks of his countrymen to a foreign yoke. Such virtues have recommended him to the Idolatry of his Biographer; who is not ashamed to propese him to his fellowfubjects as ' a spectacle the most worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath the feats in blifs." And the stronger to inculcate the lesson he wishes to teach, the like merits have made him confecrate that Arch-Rebel and Incendiary Thomas Becket into a Saint w. And to thep many years forward, beyond the limits of his History, on purpose to exalt those seditious Papists, who would have affaffinated Queen Elizabeth, into Mortyrs. In their defence indeed, he fays, ' the reason which has been imputed to some of them. · before the year 1588, is sufficiently retuted by their 9 protestation at the scaffold, of their inviolable fi-4 delity to the Queen, whom they acknowledged for 4. their rightful Sovereign, and prayed for her, by whose orders they were executed." I presume they

<sup>\*</sup> Pref. p. viii. \* P. 226, 230. \* P. 428.

shey were not executed for acknowledging her Sovereignty, or for praying for her; but because, notwithstanding such hypocritical prayers, they plotted and attempted to destroy Her whom they acknowledged their rightful Sovereign. Pole always acknowledged K. Henry as his rightful Sovereign; yet devoted himself to the service of a foreign Priest, and was his messenger to carry about Europe his Bulls for excommunicating and deposing the Prince to whom he made protestations of an inviolable fidelity: hay, in his return from that traiterous embassy, as he tells King Edward, he poured forth prayers and tears for him: but they must have been as counterfeit as was the Saint at whose tomb he offered them; as the Bull for discharging the King's Subjects from their allegiance was then in his pocket. But to give a specimen of these applauded Martyrs I beg leave to introduce Dr. William Parry to Mr. Phillips's acquaintance, who was prevaled upon to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and undertake to kill the Queen, if the Pope or any of his Divines would prove it lawful. A brace of Cardinals were employed in this pious Work. Allen's Book was fent him from France, teaching, ' that Kings may 6 be excommunicated, deprived, and violently hand-! led; and proving that all war, civil or foreign, undertaken for Religion is honorable.' And Como fent him word from Rome, 30 Jan. 1584, that his Holiness praised his purpose, and exhorted him to putit in practice, And to the end you may be the more aided by that good Spirit, which bath induced you to this, his Bleffedness granteth you full pardon and forgiveness of all your sins, as you requested: assuring you that beside the merit that you shall receive in Hea-

van, his Holiness will make himself a further Debtor, to acknowledge your deservings in the best manner that be may.' I shall give the Letter itself, to vouch for the genuine principles of the Church of Rome, in private instructions to their Converts, not what they dress up for publick shew\*. At the gallows he boasted of his having preserved the Queen; but his prayers the could not expect, as this pious martyr offered up none for himselfy. What credit can be given to the Protestation of men in communion with this Church, which absolves from all obligation, and gives licence for the most execrable villanies? This is a taste of that ' surprising change which the regulations of the Council wrought 2: and if these disorders must with truth be acknowledged ta

## 7 Camden, Q. Eliz. p. 308. 2 P. 428.

Mon Signore, la Santita de N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V.S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non puo se non laudare la buona disposittione & resolutione. che scrive di tenere verso il servitio et beneficio publico. nel che la Santita fua lessorta di perseverare con farne rinscire li effetti che V. S. promette. Et accioche tanto maggiormente V. S. fia ajutata da quel buon spirito che l' ha mosso, le concede sua Beneditione, plenaria indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandossi che oltre il merito, che n'havera in ciolo vuo, le anco sua santita constituirsi debitore a riconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potra, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretender mente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi fanti & honorati pensieri, & attendo aftar sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desidero ogni buono & selice success. Di Roma 30 di Genuaro. M.D.LXXXIV. Al piacer di V. S. N. Cardinale di Como. Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri. Camdeni Annales Elisabethæ. Hearne,

to have been infinitely less than they were before; our Fore-fathers had just reason to pray, From the Bishop of Rome and his detestible enormities, Good Lord believer us! The taking so much pains, and lavishing so much Oratory to recommend such Heroes to the admiration of his English Readers, gives us a sight of the scope at which Mr. Phillips aims in this Performance; and is an ungrateful return to the moderation of his Governours, under which he acknowledges himself to be happy.

Mr. Phillips begins his fecond Part §. 23. Queen with an illustrious comparison of his Mary's eccession Hero to the Sun, in which the point of fimilitude is, that neither the Sun, nor the Cardinal ended their career before they had got half way. 'He was engaged in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian of the career, which Providence appointed him to accomplish.b' This I had left unnoticed to the applause of the Admirers of his embroidered stile, unless he had intimated to his English Readers, that this was the meaning of Prov. iv. 28. Edit. Vulg. But to rescue Scripture from this Gentleman's misinterpretation, I must deny that Solomon ever made fo idle an observation; he says, according to the Vulgate, the path of just men, like the shining light, goeth on and encreaseth unto the perfect day: not a word of ending its career before it got to the meridian: that flower is an exotick of Mr. Phillips own raising: but, the blunder in referring to the 28th verse of a Chapter

P. 428. P. J.

Chapter that has only 27, I am willing to give to him unlicenfed: prefs at Oxford: it should he, Prev. iv.

The observation which follows, that ' Edward VI. died on the fixth of July, the same day of the fame month, on which his Father had put: Sir Thomas More to death, '' is no less curious and interefting; intimating, that Edward was punished; for the beheading Sir Thomas More before he, was born; and that Henry suffered, fix years after he was dead, by the lofs of his Son: he might, with at least equal pertinency, have observed, that the fixth of July, the day on which Edward died, was auspicious to Mary, it being the very day, which the Romans had dedicated to Female good fortune, or Fortuna feminina; and also fatal to the Protestants, being the same day of the same month on which John Huss had been burnt at Prague above a hundred and thirty years before: a diary of memorable events for two or three Centuries back might be of great use to . this Biographer, in embellishing future Histories. and affift him in fabricating judgments, of which he feems extremely fond.

In giving an account of the Messengers and Letters that passed preparatory to the Legates coming over into England, the thread of the History is much entangled from mistakes, blunders, and great inaccuracies. He informs us that Pole sent his Letter to the Queen by a special messenger, who had orders to call on the Cardinal Dandalo, the Papal Ambassishadour at the Emperour's Court, which was then kept at Brusses; and who, being in the neighbourhood

neighbourhood of England, might fend him more . certain intelligence than he could have at fo great # distance. Dandalo on this dispatched his Secretary into England, who having frequent conferences with the Queen, and informed himself of the prefent temper of the people, went back towards the end of August.4' Would not any body suppose that Dandalo's Secretary went over into England. in order to get certain intelligence to fend back to Pole ? Yet that could not be the fact : Pole's Letter was dated at Maguza the 13 Aug. (for that is the meaning of the Biographer's Ibid Sex e; is should be Idibus Sextilis) but on that very day Dandalo's Secretary was in London at Bourne's Sermon, and staid there till the day after Northumberland's execution, which was on the 22d Aug. for so we are informed by Gratiani in his Life of Commendance who was the Secretary mentioned. The rest of the Paragraph is no less obscure; where, having sold us that the Secretary (Commendene) ' by an almost incredible expedition, performed the journey from Bruffels to Rome within nine days, he adds, He called on Cardinal Pole, who was still in the Monastery near Benacus; and the Mossenger he (Pole) had fent to the Queen delivered him her Majesty's An-' fwer to his Letter. ' Here one would think Cammendone and Pole's Messenger travelled together. This could not be! for the incredible expedition. of Commendens must carry him to Maguza, three, hundred miles short of Rome, very early in September; a month before the Queen wrote the Letter. which the Messenger carried, who is represented travelling.

d Second part, p. 6, 7. P. 6. P. 7.

travelling with him; for the date of the Queen's Letter, according to the Biographer, was 6 Off. It should be four days later, 6 Id. Off. But this very careful Historian who acknowledges the Reader's claim to accuracy even in trifles, is frequently blundering about dates, and his classical pen is apt to mistake the number of the Ides and Kalends for the number of the days of the month.

The message on which Commendone was sent into England, was not, as Mr. Phillips relates at page 74 on Cardinal Pale's account; but as the fame Mr. Phillips relates at page 28, to propose the Emperour's Son's match to the Queen in a private audience; and to magnify, on his return to Rome, the danger of fending, as yet, a Legate. Both contrary to the defions of Pole's Letter to the Queen, which were to remind her of her obligations to him for what he had done and faffered in her service; and to hasten her to acknowledge the Pope's authority, which he' represents as the head of God's Laws, for which purpose he was coming over as Legate from his Holiness. The Queen had three persons proposed to her for her choice in a Husband; the handsome Courtzer, whom she is reported to have preferred; but he provoked her refentment by preferring her Sifter, the: Princess Elisabeth: her old friend and relation Pole. to whom the people were faid to be rather inclined. and the Queen's gratitude at least made her inquire of Commendone, whether a Deacon (for Cardinal Pole had hitherto avoided Priest's Orders,) might be difpensed with, and permitted to marry: the third was Phillip, many years younger than herfelf, who, being able to bring the Emperour's power to her affiftance

ince, against France whom the feared, by the intrigues of Gardiner, was made choice of, to the great regret of the people. To prevent Poli's in-Auence over Mary; the Emperour detained him from England till after her marriage with Phillip was over. So that Pole's views to the Crown were at heaft so far suspected by the Emperour, as to oblige him to use his power and his cunning to disappoint them. These views, wild as they were, founded perhaps on Queen Catherine's wishes, are the key which unlocks his character. This might make him declaim against the implety of the Divorce, which yet he acknowledged at least a problematical question :-- but it debarred Mary from the Crown: This might make him account the Pope's Supremacy as the first and great commandment, though he could not find it in his Bible :- because none else could pretend an authority-over Henry. to oblige him to continue in his first indecent marriage, and thereby confirm the legitimacy of Mary: This might make him pretend to commiserate Henry on his breach with the Pope and the Emperour, as the greatest danger into which he could fall:-to fright him into a reconciliation, the terms of which he hoped, (by the means of his friends at Rome) in fome measure to direct : this would chagrine himto the last degree, when he heard the reconciliation was going on without his privity: This might make him angry that the King was not excommunicared .- in order to drive him into conditions: this might make him plead as a merit to the King, his deferring that excommunication; when he hoped, by his address in negotiations, he might obtain his ends without it: This was fufficient to make him' fawn

fawn and bully, footh and threaten, write apologies, and raise seditions, to persuade or compel the King into his measures: professedly shaking his Crown on pretence of fixing it, with remainder to himself; and putting him in danger of being damned by excommunication, in order to fave his foul by teaching him to repent of the injury he had done his Daughter, and by making restitution. Wavering in his measures, as whim, incidents, or the perswasion of friends, might suggest; but steady to his one point, which he never lost fight of, till totally defeated by Philip's marriage with the Queen: For this, we may suppose, he declined the Cardinalate, lest it should make his own marriage with her difficult: this would make him refuse Priesthood and even the Papacy, lest it should render it impracticable. But when the Queen married a young man, at a time when he himself was fifty-four, he changed his plan, took Priest's Orders, and condescended to accept of the See of Canterbury, with a thousand a year reserved rent out of the Bishoprick of Winchester. As to Religious principles, his abhorrence of many Popish errors and corruptions on the one hand\*, and

Beside his concurrence with his eight CoHegues in pointing out and censuring these corruptions, Lucas Osiander multos ait, qui hunc Cardinalem familiarius noverant, judicasse, eum neque ignoravisse, neque in corde suo improbavisse evangelicam doctrinam: sed eò vehementiùs eam persecutum, ut Lutheranismi suspicionem à se quam longissime removeret. In epitame Historica Cent. XVI. p. 660, Teste Joanne Wolsio in lectionibus memorabilibus et reconditis quidam affirmante. Polum Evangelio omnino addictum fuisse, sed ut suspicionem Lutheranismi evitaret, et Cardinalis à Papa crearetur, librum pro sede Romana in lucem emissise.

his long attachment and obligations to the Pope on the other, would probably have made it not difficult for him to have returned to his own Country, whether Mary or Elizabeth held the reins. Mary, Canterbury, and the suspicions against him, determined him to be a persecuting Papist: had Elizabeth succeded during Paul IV th's rigorous treatment of him, the Cardinal perhaps would have been as irresolute whether he should acknowledge or reject that Pope, as he was, whether he should send or burn the Libel which he had written against him\*.

Previous to the History of Queen Mary's reign our Biographer thinks it not improper to give some account of her character; if the proofs of her other excellencies be as lame as that which he produces for evidence of her having made a confiderable progress in writing Latin, under the Quintilian of those times, Ludovicus Vives, he might have been excused from losing fight of his principal figure to pay his compliments to her; for all the proofs he gives of her writing tolerably well in that language, are, ' the inaccuracies of a Letter to Cardinal Pole, which e is preserved in the Bodleian Library, s' As to the inaccuracies, they are at Mr. Phillips's service to prove her confiderable progress in the art of writing Latin: but the address is mistaken; it is indeed published

#### # P. 11,

Passino estam Petrus Paulus Vergerius, cui probe cognitus erat Polus, eum de religione aliud sentire ac loqui sultium, hoc nomine acerbe, sed præter meritum, a Joanne Casa reprehensus. Schelhorne Amænit. Hitt-Eccles. vol. 1. p. 154.

See Phillips, part 2. pag. 105.

lished in the Sylloge Epistolarum, p. 122. as written to Cardinal Pole, but for the Princes's honor, in her riper years, the contents and those inaccuracies prove it to have been a juvenile performance, addressed to her Godfather Cardinal Wolsey.

He likewises praises her eloquence, in a speech which she made to the Citizens on Wyatt's rebellion, equal, says Mr. Phillips, to any recorded by the Greek or Roman Historians. But unwilling to trust it in its native beauties, he has new dressed it in language of his own; so that he pays the compliment to Himself. But that the Queen may have her share of praise, I shall give the Reader her Exordium in her own words; I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you see and know. Dixin' ego in hoc inesse with Atticam eloquentiam? said the Parasite Gnatho of his bubble Thraso; and so Winchester exclaimed at the end of her speech, O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned Prince!

As this infurrection occasioned the death of that excellent young Lady, whom the wicked policy of Northumberland had raised to a crown, not for her own, but for his ambitious purposes, it is with pleasure I embrace the opportunity Mr. Phillips gives me of acknowledging the justice he does to her character. Si fic omnia dixisset, had he been as just in all his other characters of those whom he praises or condemns, he had saved me much pain in reading, and much trouble in pointing out his partialities. In relating her story, by a strange inattention, he calls her by her Mother's maiden name, the Lady fane Brandon; but the

the only centure which falls from his pen on her account, is indeed no reflexion on Her, and was rather meant to fall on the Church of England; to whom, if any censure is due, it rather belongs, for recommending to all of her Communion, the study and knowledge of the Scriptures. He fays, ' to great beauty, and all the lofter accomplishments of female education, she had joined the knowledge of the learned languages. and had given much time and application to the Scriptures; a study, which however undertaken by the Sex on a specious principle of seeking Truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or \* confirms them in those they have already imbibed.1' But what he means as a reproach on our Church proves unluckily a severe one on his own; for it is a frank Confession, that if persons of learning and a blameless character seek Truth in the Scriptures, it is likely to make them defert Popery; or preserve them effectually from returning to it. This (although he calls fuch defertion error) I think implies a concession, that the Popish Doctrines are unscriptural, and their Discipline contrary to the Gospel precepts. And accordingly the Queen at her accession, in favor of Popery, and to suppress the scriptural religion of the Protestants, as the most effectual way to obtain both these ends, "frictly charged and commanded all and every of her Subjects, of whatever state, 4 condition, or degree, that none of them prefume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the University, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of ' doctrine

4 doctrine concerning Religion.k She indeed calls these interpretations a little before, after their sun brain; but that those words include and were meant to prohibit the plane, literal, and real sense, is manifest from inhibiting, in the same proclamation, ' interoreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fancies;' which were the laws of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. against Popery expresly, and which were not yet repeled. This was, by her own fole authority, unaided by Parliament, to suppress the Bible, and abrogate the Laws of the land. None could proclaim the protection of the Laws in being, for they were to lie dead without meaning; and Judge Hale, who had strenuously supported those Laws in her favor, to raise her to the Crown, was by her thrown into prison, for putting those Laws, yet unrepealed and in force, into execution: where he was treated so harshly, that he had no way to avoid his tortuses but by professing her Religion; nor of escaping the terrors of conscience here for having done so, but by escaping out of life. All the Tyrannies of Henry's long reign were meekness and mildness in comparison of this single Act of the imperious Queen. Nay, after she had dropped the Title of her Supremacy in Church matters, she acted in virtue of it: issuing articles of reformation to the Bishop of London, before the Pope's Supremacy was reftored : if neither God nor the Pope gave her this authority. from what fource did she derive it? Truth will out: The yindicates her Supremacy over causes and perfons ecclefiaftical, in the very Act in which the difclaimed it. Remembring, fays she, our Duty to. Almighty God, to be to foresee (as much as in us

\* Fox, Q. Mary, p. 16.

may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish and increase,—for these causes ye shall be charged with our especial command—ment by these our Letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly procede—without fear—for danger. And then she commands every Bishop and his officers, with all other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to put in execution the Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws—forbidding them to acknowledge that they have any authority from her, by omitting this clause, Registant british fulcitus.

. In the same month , and therefore with as little authority, did the iffue out a Commission, by which all the married Clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being disqualified to possess them."' Whence arose this disqualification? the comparative lewdness and scandal of the enjoined Celibacy in the Roman Clergy, has been before obferved, not much to their honor: We have now a new Subject, the unlawfulness of clerical Marriages. I suppose Mr. Phillips will not pretend that their marriages are forbidden in Scripture: this was given up in the Council of Trent, where John of Ludegna maintained that the celibacy of Priests was neither by divine law or apostolical precept, only by advice: and that had it not been for the Laws of the Church, or monastical Vows, Priests or Monks might lawfully marry. And so says Gratian : And this I apprehend

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fox, p. 38. <sup>m</sup> March, 1554. <sup>n</sup> P. 38. • Coacil. tom. xiv, p. 1551.

Copula Sacerdotalis nec legali, nec Evangelicâ, vel Apostolicâ authoritate prohibetur, Ecclesiasticâ tamen lege penitus interdicitur. Causa. 26. qu. 2. C. I.

apprehend is yielded by our Biographer, in faying, this inability, as extraordinary as it may now appear, was founded on the constant practice of the Western Church, ever since the establishment of Christianity; on the unanimous authority of the Canons, and the folemn engagement to celibary the Clergy take at their Ordination; on the fourth of Henry VIIIth's fix Articles, which the Parliament had passed into a Law, and which the late Statute, which recalled all religious matters to their condition at that Prince's death, had ratified; which made this Injunction as legal and pur-F liamentary, as it was just and canonical. B. No Scripture authority is here pretended. weakness of the other pleas will appear if we examine them feverally, beginning with The unanimous authority of the Canons: the elder Canons are with us; thus among those early ones called Apostolical, it is ordained that no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, put away his wife, upon pretence of Religion\*. In the days of perfecution, when the Clergy particularly were called to a more exemplary life, and in continual expectation of being demanded to execution, it was more their duty and less difficult to fit loose to the World; they therefore recommended and preferred Celibacy, and the fixteenth and twenty-fifth of those Canons forbad to the Clergy second Marriages, and marrying after Ordination; but diffolved no marriage on this account: nay, when in, the Council of Nice, some Bishops would have introduced

P P. 39.

Την ξαυθά γυναϊκα μη ξαβαλλέτω σροφάσω ευλαβώσς. Can. 5.

aroduced a new Law into the Church, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should abstain from their wives. (married while they were Laymen) Paphnutius contended vehemently, that so heavy a yoke ought not to be imposed upon the Clergy, and that they should take heed of rather injuring the Church by this excess of severity; affirming the company of a lawful wife to be chaftity, and that it was fufficient, that he, who was first ordained, should not marry afterwards, according to the antient discipline of the Church; but that none ought to be separated from that wife, which he had before married while he was vet a Lavman . Paphnutius was himself unmarried, and the Council left it free to the will of every one, whether they would abstain from the company of their wives or not. The fixth Canon of the fixth General Council orders, if any one, who comes' to be ordained, hath a mind to join himself to a wife, let' him do it before he is ordained Deacon, Sub-Deacon, or Priest, and then receive Orders. the tenth Canon of the Council of Ancyra permits Deacons, yet unmarried, to marry after their Ordination, and continue in their office, provided they protested at their Ordination their intentions and necessity of marrying. In the Eastern Church Bishops were not forbidden to marry till the close of the seventh Century; and Priests were allowed ten years after their Ordination, to take wives if they chose it. In the Western, after the fourth Century, their Councils were chiefly Provincial, and pretended to no authority out of their own Provinces; and the first of these that forbad marriage to the Clergy

<sup>4</sup> Soaut Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 11.

in general, was a little one at Orange, confifting of only seventeen Bishops in the year 441. We must therefore next examine.

The constant practice of the Western Church ever fince the establishment of Christianity. Polydere Virgil acknowledges, in general, that notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the Law of Celibacy, marriage could never be wrested from the Western Clergy before the Popedom of Gregory VII. Here in England before Austin's time, Pope's Decrees could have no power. It is faid, Restitutus, a Bishop of London, was a married Man, who was present at the Council of Nice, where Paphnutius prevaled on the Synod not to condemn the marriage of the Clergy: he brought from thence a Decree, that if a Deaconat the time of his Ordination did protest he intended to marry, it should be lawful for him so to do. And by the Answers of Egbert, Archbishop of York, so late as 734, the Ordination of a Bission. Priest, or Deacon was valid, if he have not a second wife, nor one deserted by her busband. Nay, when it was objected in the Conclave against chusing Amedeus Pope, it was replied, that a married Man might be chosen into that See; that not only Popes had been married, but even the Prince of Popes Peter himself was so. And that perhaps it had not been the worse if very many Priests were suffered to have wives; because many might be saved in that state which are damned in Celibacy\*. In England. among.

<sup>\*</sup> Invent. rar. lib. 4. cap. 4. Godwyn.

Ald antem quod de uxore dicitur, nihili pendo, cum non folum qui uxorem habuit, sed uxorem adhuc habens queat-assemi.---

among the Laws of the Northumbrian Priests, the thirty-fifth is, If a Priest dismiss one wife and take another, let bim be Anathema. Which looks as if Digamists were allowed, and that on the death of a first wife, though not on the dismission of her, a second might be taken.' This was in 950. About which time, according to the old MS. Chronicle of Winobester t, all the Monasteries in England, exgept Gloffenbury and Abenden, were nothing else but Colleges of married Priests, till King Edgar, at the instigation of Dunstan, drove them thence, and planted Monks in them about 974. Elfric indeed, about twenty years before, endeavoured to establish Celibacy; with how little effect has been seen. when Graggry VII. was for imposing it upon the whole Clergy, and commanded the Bishops to publish his Decrees, the opposition to it here was so great, that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, durst venture no further than to decree (in 1976) Let no Prebendary have a Wife. But of the Priests who live in Towns and Villages, those who \* have wives shall not be compelled to put them away: those who have not, shall be forbidden to # marry any ". His more resolute Successor, Anselm, introduced

affumi. --- fueruntque (ut scitis) etiam in matrimonio pontifices, nec Petrus Apostolorum princeps uxore caruit. Quid ista modo objicimus? fortasse non esset pejus sacerdotes quam plures uxorari: quoniam multi salvarentur in sacerdotio conjugato, qui sterili in presbyteratu damnantur. Comment. Ænea Sylv. De Gestis Basil. Concil. lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Spelman, tom. 1. p. 434. Can. 1.

introduced a total prohibition, and forbad wives to the Clergy, in 1102, which before were not forbidden to them ". Which, as Huntindon observes, se feemed most chaste to some, to others dangerous: left while they affected a purity beyond their power, they should fall into horrible uncleanness, to the great scandal of the Christian Religion.\* This scandal was so great, that before the close of this Century, the Pope connived at the marriage of Sub-Deacons for a reason which affects the higher Orders also, e least instead of one, they should abuse many Women; because a less evil is to be toleral ted, that a greater may be avoided." From this time, though the Canons were against it, yet the marriages of the Clergy continued, either by Licence purchased of the King, or clandestinely; which last were so general, that Otho, the Pope's Legate. published a Constitution against them, in 1240. And even down to the Reformation ' all the beff and most religious Priests (in the Church of Rome) e perceiving their infirmity, and deteffing the foule nefs of fornication, if they dared not publickly, at least privately, entered into marriage.' So affirms Cassander in his Consultations fent to Maximilian II. in 1564. From whence we learn the conflant practice of the Western Church ever since the establishment of Christianity was to have wives, for above 1000 years, without prohibition; and afterwards, in spite of the Canons. At least the best and most religious Priests did so, others wallowed in the filth

<sup>\*</sup> Henry de Knighton de event. Angl., 1. 2. c. 8. \* Hist. lib. vii.

of Concubinacy, and the Nunneries were as publickly profituted as the common Stews\*.

Next he urges the folemn engagement to Celibacv. which the Clergy take at their Ordination: If this Vow was voluntary, yet beyond a Man's power to keep, Epiphanius, a strenuous Advocate for Celibacy, says, it is better openly to marry a wife according to the Law: for this reason, because it is better to commit one Sin (his breach of vow) than many (by irregular incontinence. 1) If this Vow was forced and involuntary, they cannot be truly faid to have vowed; and therefore Scotus, Durandus, and other Divines in the Church of Rome allow, that marriage is unlawful to the Clergy, not upon the account of a Vow annexed to their Orders, but merely for the authority of the Church's Prohibition. Yet, whether such Vows, in such cases, ought to bind or not, the marriage that is contracted, in breach of it, is never-Thus the Canon Law compiled by theless valid. Gratian, and confirmed by Eugenius III. declares, If a Deacon will lay down his office, he may lawfully use marriage when once contracted. For although he made a Vow of Chastity at his Ordinaf tion, yet so great is the force of the Sacrament of e marriage, that, not even by the Violation of the Wow, can the marriage be dissolved.2' cially

### y Hæres. 41. 2 Apud Gratian. Dict. 27. cap. 1.

Nam quid obsecro aliud sunt hoc tempore pucllarum monasteria, nisi quædam, non dico Dei Sanctuaria, sed Veneris execranda prostibula, sed lascivorum & impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula, ut idem hodie sit puellam velare quod et publice ad scortandum exponere? Nicol. de Clamengiis decorrupto Eccles statu.

cially as the Vow supposed to be annexed to Orders was seldom express, only tacit and interpretative senerally an admonition only from the Bishop to live single, without any vow or promise by the person ordained: so that the gloss upon the Decretals of Gregory IX. professeth, that he cannot imagine how the Clergy of the Western Church can be faid to be obliged by Vow to Continence.

If we ask by what authority the Queen issued her Commission to deprive the married Clergy of their Benefices, Mr. Phillips tells us, by the fourth of Henry VIIIth's fix Articles, which the Parliament had paffed into a Law, and which the late Statute, which recalled all Religious matters to their Condition at that Prince's deuth, had ratified; which made this Injunction as legal. and parliamentary, as it was just and Canonical. Now-Henry had claimed to be Supreme over all his Subjects as well Clergy as Laity, but Mary had renounced this power; whence then had she authority. to iffue Commissions, where the Cause and the Perfons were purely Ecclefiastical? The Papal Supremacy was not yet restored, nor could operate in Emyland, for the Legatus natus, or the Pope's ordinary Legate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, would not act by that authority, nor could, being in prison, and attainted of Treason: the Legate à latere, Cardinal Pole, had his commission indeed, and was, as he expresses it, knocking at the door to be admitted, but the Queen herfelf was barring the door against him at that time. The Injunction therefore was as illegal as it was unjust.

\* Lib. 3. tit. 9. cap. cum vlien.

Of.

- Classes, one of which contains those who had been Regulars; against these he urges the solemn Vows must have been discharged when the Orders and Service were suppressed \*; nor did they marry, till the Laws of the Church permitted them so to do, in Edward's reign. Of these he thinks proper to give some account from Protestant Historians.
- Holgato, Archbishop of York, not only made use of the indulgent doctrine, which, in Edward's reign, allowed the Clergy to marry, but extended the licence to take another Man's wife. Collier-Eccl. Hift. vol. ii. b. 5. p. 349. And Collier refers us to Harmer to justify his suspicion that this taking another Man's wife was one of the beineus offences for which Holgate was imprisoned. appears fufficient cause for his imprisonment without fuspecting this marriage to have been any part of it; for Strype informs us, that on the 18 Jan. 1554, the Lord. Chancellor went to the Tower, and divers other Lords of the Council, and delivered a number of Prisoners, viz. the three Sons and the Brothers of the late Duke of Northumberland, Sir Yames a Croft, Sir George Harper, Sir George Carew, Sir Nicolas Threymorton, Sir Nicolas Arnold, Mr. Vaughan. Sir Edward Warner, Mr. Gybbs, the Archbishop of Yark.
- \* For that Vows taken, which respect a Society, are discharged when a person ceases to be of that Society, appears from the rules of the Jesuits themselves, quibus nimirum ità astringuntur, ut liberum tamen Societati ante professionem sit, quos non probat dimittere, ac dimissos, ab omni votorum obligatione absolvere. Ribadeneiræ Vita Ignat. lib. 3. p. 262.

York, Sir John Rogers, and divers others, concerned in the Lady Jane's or Wyatt's business, after a year's imprisonment or more. And I learn from Queen Mary's Council book, that the Archbishop and other of the Conspirators were fined that day at the Tower. How far he was concerned appears not. but we may presume it was not so deeply as the others. because his fine was only 23 marks, while Andrew Dudley's was 200 pounds, and Cuthbert Vaughan's 300. There is no reason therefore to suspect that his taking another Man's wife was one of those heinous offences for which he was imprisoned." But Harmer still fears, and thinks his probity may be justly fufpected, because he finds in King Edward's Council book this Order made on the 23 Nov. 1551. A Letter to the Archbishop of York, to stay his coming up hither till the Parliament. Also a Letter to Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Mr. Chaloner, and Dr. Roukfby to fearch and examine the very truth of the matter between the Archbishop of York, and one Norman, who claimeth the faid Archbishop's wife to be his wife, to which end the Supplication of the faid Norman is fent to them inclosed. This is all that Harmer, or Collier, of Phillips, or I know of this matter. Is the Archbi-Thop's probity justly to be suspected, because one Norman, we know not who, claims the Archbishop's wife to be his, without knowing on what grounds he claimed, or how the Archbishop desended himself? a misinterpreted promise, or a doubtful contract per verba de futuro, might have been the pretense without any restection on the Archbishort A doubtful point it appears to have been, as a Commission-

<sup>8</sup> Mem. vol. iii. p. 208. 

✓ P. 125.

mission was directed, for examining and using such means to understand the circumstance and very truth of the matter, as it stands in the Council book now in the Mkfeum. And that the Archbishop had been guilty of no offence was, I suppose, found on the Enquiry; because we hear nothing of his being separated from her: nay, in the May following he purchased the Lordship of Scroby, lately parcel of the Possessions of the Archbishops of York, and settled it upon his Successors for ever, referving the Premises to Himself and Barbara his wife, during their Lives or So that Norman's claim, upthe Survivor of them d. on examining the circumstance and very truth of the matter, appears not to have been well grounded, and the clamors against the Archbishop, on this account. to have been not justifiable.

Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, he tells us, had fifty-fix Articles exhibited against him, after the Duke of Somerfet's fall, for which he was confined during the remainder of Edward's reign; and now degraded, Athen. Oxon. p. 679. But neither He, nor Wood, tells us, that the chief of those Articles were omissions purposely made by the Treachery of the Bishop's Chancellor and Register to bring him into trouble; so that his confinement in the former reign was by the treacherous ingratitude of his own officers, fecret Papifts, as Fax informs us: neither does Mr. Phillips acquaint us that in this reign, beside degrading, he was burnt by the cruelty of the Papists, and the sontence of his Successor. Wood indeed adds (from Roman Catholick Writers) a Man may eafily perceive. that the baving a woman to bis wife, was the chief motivi

4 Stryp. Mem. vol. ii. p. 402.

tive that draw bien to those appairent which he held; as if it were not more natural to think, that the opinions which he held were the chief motive that drew him to have a Woman to his Wife, as Wood's questation frangely expresses it; or, as if having a Monk to his Wife, or a Woman to his Whore, which was too common a practice amongst Popish Priess, would have kept him in the profession of Popish Doctines.

As to the other two it may be sufficient to observe. that Pitts, whom he quotes, fays nothing of Bird; perhaps it was intended to place his name under the · account of Paul Bufb, of whom he relates much of what Mr. Phillips mentions: but then how comes Pitts to be reckoned among Protestant Historians? In a MS. belonging once to J. Fax, is an account of -the meritorious Conversion of this Dr. Birds who. after putting away his wife, was made Vicar of Dunmow, and Suffragan to Bishop Boner : This Dr. 6 Bird was well stricken in years, having but one eye; and though he, to flatter with the time, had renounced his wife, being made of a young Protestant an old Catholick; yet, as Catholick as he was, such devotion he bare to his Man's wife. that he had them both dwelling with him in his own Vicarage, the being both young, fair, s and newly married, that either the voice of the Parish lied, or else he loved her more than enough. But of fuch covered cautelty being taken for good Catholick Chastity, I have not to deal, referring that to him, which once E trust shall purge the 6 Church of all fuch cloked Hypocrify. 9 ?

This

<sup>•</sup> Strype's Mem, vol. iii. p, 139.

This leads him to speak of the Supply of those Pacancies, either by new Bishops chosen, with great differnment, or by old ones deservedly reinstated: on this occasion he draws to bis Subject a , supposed incident in the beginning of Queen Elifabeth's reign, in these words; Dr. Heath, Archbiflop of Yark, and Chancellor, at the opening of the first Parliament under Elisabeth, made a discourse on that Princess's Supremacy, which, for . clearness and solidity, may vie with any of the ". pleadings of Tully or Demofthenes." This, so often hackneyed commendation of the Writers and Speakers on our Biographer's fide of the question, ...,brings the tichness of his invention into some doubt; and the ill success; with which it has been . hitherto applied, creates a suspicion that the speech is not quite such as he represents it. In the first c. place, it is probable, that this speech, how eloquent foever, was never spoken : He quotes it from a Popish Book, entitled, Historical Collections out of several grave Protestant Historians, &c. referring us to page 225, which should be page 284, where this pretended Tale told in Parliament occurs. The Writer's authority is no authentick History or Record, but a Manufeript found by a person living in the year 1674 (when these Collections were printed) among Papers and Notes of his Great Grandfather George Parry, who had been High Sheriff of Herefordshire in the second . year of the faid Queen s. So that who made this fpeech, we know not; but I very believe neither Heath, nor Tully, nor Demosthenes. As may be farther suspected from the falsehood in, the Title of it; R 2

(P. 40. & Pa 284)

A speech made in the upper House of Parliament, against the Supremacy to be in her Majesty; by Nicholas Heath, Lord Charcellor of England, in the first year of the reign of Queen Elisabeth, above 100 years fince." Heath was not Chancellor at the beginning of that Parliament; which was opened not by him, but by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. But supposing this a mistake of the Editor's Great Grandfather, or that he only meant to give it as a speech spoken by Heath, who had been Lord Chancellor; there are internal marks, which for Heath's honor, I will not suppose could drop from his lips; he is made to fay towards the end of it, without mature deliberation of all the premises (arguments against the Regal Supremacy) vour Honors shall never be able to shew your faces before your enemies in this matter. Now. contrary to this vain prophecy, we have been able to shew our faces before our enemies in this matter for 200 years, and I trust we shall be able to face Mr. Phillips and all his Allies. But how Heath could face that House of Lords, if he spake this speech. I know not; when so many of them had been witnelles, that in fpite of his own arguments, he had acknowledged, fubscribed, and sworn to this Supremacy at least three times in King Henry's reign, as Archdeacon of Sudbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop of Worcester; and again upon King Edward's Accession. Then the continual series of Falsehoods and Sophisms through the whole long tedfous speech, prove it could not be written by a modest Manitacquainted with Ecclefiaftical History, as Heath was, **before** 

P: 284, P. 3031.

before a learned auditory who could eafily have confuted him': but was counterfeited by some profligate seducer, either a stranger to the antient Church History, or else wilfully misrepresenting it to deceive ignorant Readers and Disciples. Who this forger was it is not incumbent on me to find out; but George Parry of Herefordsbire, among whose papers this Manuscript was found, will lead us to suspect it might come out of the family of William Parry of Wales, who was hanged for having been spirited up by the Jesuits to murder Queen Elisabeth, as beforementioned.

The Legate's procedings in the Embaffies in which the Pope employed him, Embaffies to the shew the same fondness for scribling, Emperour, the same ill success in negotiating to England. as characterize him throughout. The

Pope, acquainted with his particular views and personal interest in England, immediately thought him the properest person to be employed for the recovery of that Kingdom, and therefore appointed him Legate to the new Queen: and desirous of the affistance of the Emperour and French King. who were at War, through one or other of whose territories he must pass, took that opportunity of fending him on an Embassy to both those Princes to endeavour to make peace betwixt them. these important negotiations the Cardinal Legate fet out with all his pomp for Flanders in the depth of winter and a very severe season: But unfortunately the Emperour, who knew his designs, and intended the Queen for his own Son, forbad him to procede; and fent him back to Dilingen on the Danube. From R 3 whence

whence he informs the Pope of his unfortunate outfet, and by Letter intreats the Emperour to remove an obstacle no less disrespectful to the Holy See, than prejudicial to the purposes of his Embassy. But Charles was deaf to any remonstrances, nor would give him leave to come nearer to Bruffels, till his Son's marriage with the Queen was concluded. And his dear Princess, now determined on a younger Husband, conspired with the Emperour to keep the Legate for a time out of her Kingdom. The Pope condoles with him on his disappointment, and permits him to lay down his publick character and retinue, and go over to England inceg, and when opportunity offers, to assume his functions againg which he permits him so to use, that he may neither prejudice! his private concerns \*, nor want authority to effect his publick commission . However, the Queen herself had effectually prevented his putting this scheme into execution; for the had just before fent him advice, that his coming over would neither be feafonable for her affairs, nor fafe to him; she was afraid her Subjects would murder him: wherefore she thinks it more brudent for him to delay his passage hither, rather than by coming to interrupt her designs more than promote them 1. Thus unfortunately failed his first project, and the labors and treasons of so many years were disappointed.

The marriage with Philip being affented to by Parliament, his next care was to execute the Pope's Commissions of making peace betwirt the belligerent

Ep. Pol. vol. iv. p. 432. 1 Ibid p. f21.

Lut tibi nec in privatis tuis rebus agendis obsit—

ren't Powers, and reconciling England to the See of Rone: For this end he intreate the Emperour to a delay him no longer. Charles, now not afraid of distribilizing the English, conserned to his coming to-Bruffels But foon after his arrival there, gave him to understand, He could have consent to his going to: Envland, till his Son's murriage with the Queen was over. To employ this lessure he began his mediation of Peace; which the Emperdur feemed to hear with approbation; and to amuse him seat him to the French Ring to know his intentions. On the road he bufied himself in writing a long Discourse on Peace, which he intended for the use of each of them. Om Biographer, in giving us a Summary of it, has made the Cardinal Author of a most shameful Anachronilling The Tepretents him as admonishing them. that to contention and agreement had been equally emiavailing to the defired and (of lafting peace) Willar the Emperour stight be fatisfied of this; if he Felletted, not only roul the fituation of his affairs ct withing theferthree or four last years he had been at of With the present King (of France;) but cal-4-160 Progression brance the events of Henry II. thirty e veals past or more, since these valainities began : and the almost perpetual thate of hostility he hade-been (in with Francis his Father. " Blunders' which Pole could not be guilty of; and I will do himjuffice against the injurious misinterpretations of his Biographer, who makes him talk of a present King, as different from Henry II. whereas they were the fame. Henry II. was then the present King in France: and describes him as desiring the Emperour 75. Rr4 1 8 8

and more. This Discourse was written early in 1554; Henry II. succeeded to the Crown in 1557. What in the name of wonder were the events of Henry II. thirty years past and more, which the Emperour was to remember? whereas the passage in Pole, so fantastically translated, only desires Cesar to recollect the beginning of this war; not those beginnings two or three years ago with Henry, but thirty years ago or more, with Francis, Father to the present King; which has proved one; continual War ever since\*.

But the effect of this Discourse, and of his negotiations to bring about a peace, were unfortunate, as usual. The Emperour either was, or pretended to be, displeased at his negotiation with the French. King; and complained, that in the written discourse, which was alike addressed to them both, he had shewed a partiality to his Rival." Violence of words could go no greater lengths; and had he not taken them in the sense they were means, he must have been more insensible, he says, than an inanimate being and in this warmth writes to his Agent at Rome, intimating that he would not be displeased to be recalled." The Pope, by Cardinal Morone, appears to have signified a desire, that

## <sup>8</sup> P. 48. • P. 52. • P. 55.

Meminisse igitur debes, Cæsar, belli hujus initia, quæ quidem non sunt à duotum, triumve annorum spatio, quibus bellum a te cum Henrico geritur, sed ab triginta, aut eo etiam amplius intervallo repetenda, atque tibi cum Francisco hujus ipsius Regis Patre inchoatum certamen, assiduum perpetuumque esse bellum. Orratio de Pace. Quirini, vol. iv. p. 409.

that he would procede in his Legation to England, how III foever he had fucceded in that to the Emperoult. Pole answers, his utmost ambition is to ferve fuch a Patron, in fuch a cause: but so deep had the Queen's caution funk into his mind of ' deferring that office for fear of being affaffinated in England, that he tells Morone, I would not, however, have your Lordship imagine, that having fome experience of these affairs, I am ignorant on what a tempestuous sea' I embark, when I undertake the Embally to England; and that the risks I am to run, and the hardships I must undergo to e guide the Vellel into the Haven, are much greater than those I have hitherto encountered. This' shews us our great obligations to the Cardinal, who would even risk his life, as he says, rather than not fubject us to a foreign yoke, which we so detested and abhorred, that he was afraid we should rife up and murder him for attempting it.

To effect this recovery, the Commission was very ample, from him whose aim was to seek what was lost. Indulgence to almost every weakness and depravity of human nature; and to persons of what degree and professions seever. And, where the chief difficulty would lie, and consequently from which the greatest danger would rise, he was empowered to agree and transact, as he should judge convenient, with the Possessions of Church-goods: of arrears and moveable goods consumed they might be discharged, or compounded with for thom: but the terra sirma, the lands he wishes to be first re-restored.

4 P. 55. P. 57.

flored\*. This Commission, Mr. Phillips grossy misrepresents, as if it was left to the Legate's determination, whether restitution of the immoveable (goods) was to be made or not. Whereas the clause respects only the mean profits and moveables, for which it impowers the Legate to compound with the possessors. or to discharge them: as to the Lands and immoveables, no power is granted to excuse the restitution of them; but whether the restitution of them should be made before the Legate compounds for the mean profits, or afterwards, is left to his discretion, though the former is advised. He adds, and he was authorized to make the owners easy as to all such matters.' Here again he falfely includes the immoveables, when the moveables are only mentioned. Nay, Mr. Phillips himself afterwards detects his own mifrepresentation; for when he gives an account of the enlargement of these powers, he describes them just as he had done the former, or rather more restrained, and truly states the difference betwixt them in contra-For the Emperour had diction to his first account, fent over his first Commission into England, to be examined, whether the powers were sufficient or not: the Queen judged they were not, and desired larger. The Pope therefore, to the great joy of the Legate, granted him fuller powers, by which the difficulty

## P. 59.

Et cum Possessionibus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi. The Pope's General Powers.—see Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 217.

and danger would be leffened; which Mr. Phillips. thus relates, 'He (the Pope) mentions to the Legate, that he had already authorised him to treat with the Possessors of Ecclesiastical Revenues, as to the fruits they had unjustly received and consumed. and to discharge them from any obligation of resting tution arifing from these beads. But as nothing feemed more likely to remove the hindrance [to a "recovery of this kingdom to his obedience He" therefore—invested the Legate with the most ample power to agree and compound with the prefent owners lat the recommendation of the Queen: this Mr. Phillips omits] and to affure to them their on whatever title they held them; to exempt them from any duty of restitution; and to do every thing that was necessary to remove all scruoples, and make them easy: yet still reserving judgment in cases for their importance to be referred to the 'Holy See, as the Legate should see cause." \* restriction of reserving judgment in some cases to the Pope, Mr. Phillips mentions, but fays, it was the only one; having refused to inform us of the other, which limits it to those only whom the Queen should recommend. So that this extension of the Legate's powers, as our Biographer represents it, was a more restrained Commission than the former. which this was meant to enlarge. He also is mistaken

## 1 P. 65.

<sup>\*</sup> Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc fancta sedes merito tibl videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis, bene placito et consirmatione. Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 223.

ken in the date of this last Commission: It should be 28th of June, not July, 1554.

The importance of the affair, in which the negociation ended, caused Mr. Phillips, as he himself
elegantly tells us, 'to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if he may be
allowed the comparison) as the Poet in producing
the Bow, by which his Heroe was to be discovered,
and the fate of the Suitors decided." I have no
objection to allowing the comparison, for the affair
ended like the story of the Bow; after the Hero had
made trial of it, and found he had a faculty of bending it as he pleased, methinks I hear him crying out
to the Protestants, as Ulysses did to the Suitors.

Dogs, you have had your day—
The hour of vengeance, wretches, now is come,
Impending fate is yours, and instant doom.

Pope\*.

which, if not in the spirit of the personal character of the timid Pole, is in the very spirit of the character he appeared in, the Representative of the Pope, so often roused by his Preachers against the Protestants, with this Text, Rise, Peter, slay and eat. See Burnet, vol. iii. Introd.

Notwithstanding his powers were now enlarged to his own wish and satisfaction, he was still detained; and there were not wanting at the Courts of Rome, Brussels, and England, those who represented him

" P. 69.

him as unfir for the Commission he was charged wish. Who they were he knew not, but the effects were fo fenfible, that as Majon, the Queen's Ambassadour at the Court of Bruffels, writes, ' he began to lose all comfort, perceiving neither his negotiations for a Peace between the Emperour and the French King, nor that of reconciling his Country with the Catholick Church, take effect. first he gave quite up; and if he did not speedily perceive some likelihood of succeding in the other, he should be weary of spending his time to on purpose, and talked of returning to Italy. So able a negotiator was he through life! It is true. . Majon pays him some extravagant compliments, and compares the English, if they admit him not, to the Gadarenes, who defired our Redemer to depart ftom their Country, which Mr. Phillips, with more regard to his Hero than to his Redemer, has thought proper to repete.

At length his return was refolved; his Attainder reversed, with this notorious falshood in it, 'that the only reason of his Attainder had been the Cardinal's resulal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's Father and Mother. Whereas it was owing to his fomenting a rebellion against the King, and being a rebel and enemy to his country. All things being ready for his reception, about the middle of Nov. 1554, he came to Calais, where an incident happened, so very unusual, and worthy the notice of History, that this Writer interprets it a declaration of Heaven in his favor; which was—the wind changed. It is true, not a sparnow falleth

\* P. 73. \* P. 75. \* P. 79. \* P. 77.

whom the winds and the fear abey; but to seemark the winds turning, as an indication of God's will not to detain the Legate a few days from England, and pass over the many months delays occasioned by Charles; Phillip, and Mary, whose wills were equally under the same controul, appears to be a very partial rapreferration of Providence.

He tells us the Legate was re-5. 25. The ceived at landing by the Lord Mon-Nation reconcistayus, his Nephew by his eleeft led to the Pope. Brother, whom Henry VIII. had put to death. But his eldest Brother left no Son behind him, only two Daughters: Sir Anthony - Browns indeed had been created Lord Viscount Mon-- tacute or Montague the September before : the title I apprehend to be the same, derived from Thomas de Montacute Earl of Salisbury (common Ancestor both to the Poles and Brownes) whose Grandchildren were Richard Nevil, Earl of Salifbury, from whom the Poles descended; and John Nevil created Baron, and then Marquis of Montague, from whom defeended the Brownes. It is of no confequence by whom the Cardinal was met; but a Biographer who boafts of his accuracy, even in trifles, should have been better acquainted with his Hero's Pedigree and · Relations.

When he was admitted into the House of Lords to declare the purpose of his Embassy to them; and the Nation by their Representatives, Mr. Phillips makes him say, "He had, for many years, been excluded

excluded not only from that saffembly, but also from his Country, by Laws enacted personally against himself. What title had he ever to sit in the House of Lords? He had indeed a place offered him there by the King's favor, offering him the Chair of York, which he refused to accept: his own Will therefore, and not laws personally enacted against himself, had excluded him from that House. But this is Mr. Phillips's improvement of the Cardinal's speech : for Pole himself was not so absurd; he thanks them, for that they of a man exiled s and banished from the Common-wealth, had refored him to be a member of the same; and of 4 a Man having no place, neither here or elfewhere. within this realm, had admitted him in a place where to speak and to be heard. His exclusion from the House of Lords by Laws personally enacted , against himself are flowers of Rhetorick scattered by Mr. Phillips, which make the Cardinal appear to talk like a fool.

On occasion of the Nations being reconciled to the Church of Rome, and again submitting their necks to the yoke of its Bishop, by acknowledging his Supremacy in these Kingdoms, which now immediately followed, he accounts for this speedy and universal Revolution, from the short time, not much more than twenty years, since England had renounced the Religion, to which she now returned, and which had been the national worship continued the same in England for nine Centuries, which it did not, new Doctrines, ceremonics,

<sup>81.</sup> Fox, vol. iii. p. 109. P. 84.

nice and superstitions, having been from time time introduced, during that interval, it was no great wildom to prefer the corruptions of the last nine Centuries to the worthip which more nearly resembled that of the fix primitive ones. But he reminds the Reader of the motives which induced Henry VIII. to begin this change, and its fluctuating state during all Edward's reign. Whatever Henry's private motives might have been, the Act ittelf of rejecting a foreign Prelate's usurped and unchristian domination in his own territories, was certainly commendable and beneficial to his people: and what he calls the fluctuating state of religion in Edward's reign, was only the progressive reformation of Popish errors, cooly examined as they were discovered, cleaned both from the rust of prepossession, and the drofs of enthuliasm. Such fluctuations were only like those of the river which Hercules is fabled to have poured through the stable of Augeas; had there been less filth to remove, fewer successions of waves had been required to cleanse it. Then he produces the authority of two witnesses, in this case above all exception, being both Bishops of our own Church; the one, to shew the little satisfaction which sensible and well disposed minds could find in the novelties of our Religion: the other, to fet forth arguments, which may prevale on men of much reason and more piety to entertain a favorable opinion of theirs f.

The first of these is Bishop Burnet, in the third volume of his History of the Reformation; where he says nothing of the little satisfaction that sensible and

rvell

f Ibid. f Ibid.

well disposed minds could find in our Doctrines. which this Writer is pleased to call Nevelties :: but, of the neglect of those Doctrines in many of those who outwardly professed them; who, having been called to the true Gospel liberty, did, as did some among the primitive Christians, use their liberty for an occasion to the flesh. Human nature is prone to run from one extreme to another, from superstition to prophaneness, especially at the beginning of the change, and to run back as eafily from prophaneness to superstition, without fixing at the right point. But the bad examples and bad designs of some Protestants could be no disproof, nor are they by any means mentioned by Bishop Burnet as a disproof of the religious opinions which they professed. Indeed the misbehaviour of persons, professing to be Reformers, would of course be exaggerated, and give more offence than the same or greater faults in other persons would; and because the Reformation had not done all the Good that was expected, and had occasioned some harm, hasty Reasoners would be apt to think that it had done nothing but harm; yet the Nation in general were not such kind of Reasoners. nor were they so far difgusted with the Reformation. however they might be with some scandalous Profeffors of it, but that great opposition was made in Parliament, as appears from Mr. Phillips himself, to. repealing the alterations made by Edward YI, and Aill greater to the Restoration of the Pope's Supresi, macy: the most zealous Protestants were serious and pious Christians, and who had no particular Interest to serve by their Tenets. They, who lamented these fcandals"

Phillips, p. 84.

feandals most, were they who most feriously approved our Doctrines a.

The other witness is Billion Taylor; with what? good faith he has quoted him, let the Reader judge: he introduces him as fetting forth, in a very ima partial light, fome arguments, which may prevale on men of much reason and more pietly to entertain a favorable opinion of the Religion; which the Naf tion now embraced.1' As if the Billhop meant, that Protestants, if sensible and pious men, would see good reason to entertain a favorable opinion of Popery: whereas the good injured Prelate is only inquiring, with a benignity of heart to which this corruptor of evidence is a flianger, how far erroneous fects may be tolerated, as excusably misled by specious arguments, while they are harmless in their ' behaviour. He instances first in Anabaptifis, setting forth their pleas to the utmost advantage; and then procedes to do the same for Papifit, in these words, which I beg the Reader to compare with what Mr. Phillips hath produced from him, curtailed, transpofed, and altered most unfairly, to serve his own tirn!

But now concerning the Religion of the Church of Rome (which was the other instance I promised to consider) we will procede another way, and not consider the truth or falsity of the Doctrines, for that is not the best way to determine this Question concerning permitting their Religion or Assemblies. Because that a thing is not true, is not argument sufficient to conclude, that he that believes it true.

h See Burnet's Hist. Resorm. v. iii. p. 217, 218, P. 84.

true is not to be endured: but we are to confider what inducements they are that possess the under standings of those men, whether they be reasonable and innocent, sufficient to abuse or persuade wise and good men; or whether the Doctrines be commenced upon design, and managed with impiety, and then have effects not to be endured.

And here, first, I consider that those Doctrines that have had long continuance and possession in the Church, cannot easily be supposed in the prefent profesiors to be a design, since they have received it from fo many Ages; and it is not likely that all Ages should have the same purposes, or that the same Doctrine should serve the several ends of divers Ages. But, however, long prescription is a prejudice oftentimes to insupportable, that it canonot with many arguments be retrenched, as relying upon these grounds, that truth is more antient than falshood; that God would not for so many Ages forfake his Church, and leave her in an error; that whatfoever is new is not only fuspicious. but false: which are suppositions pious and plausible enough. And if the Church of Rome had communicated Infants fo long as she hath prayed to Saints or baptized Infants, the communicating would have been believed with as much confidence as the other Articles are, and the diffentients' with as much impatience rejected. But this confideration is to be enlarged upon all those particulars which, as they are apt to abuse the persons of the men and amufe their understandings, so they are inffruments of their excuse, and by making their errors to be invincible, and their Opinions, though falfe, yet not criminal, make it also an effect of

reason

reason and charity to permit the men a liberty of their Conscience, and let shem unswer to God for themselves and their own opinions. Such as are the beauty and splendor of their Church; their pompous Service; the stateliness and solemnity of the Hierarchy; their name of Catholick, which they supspole their own due, and to concern no other Sect of : Christians: the antiquity of many of their Doctrines; the continual Succession of their Bishops, their immediate derivation from the Apostles, their title to succede St. Peter; the supposal and pretence of his personal prerogatives; the advantages which the conjunction of the Imperial Seat with their Episcopal hath brought to that See; the flattering expressions of Minor Bishops, which by being old records have obtained credibility; the multitude and variety of people which are of their perfuafion; apparent consent with Antiquity in many Ceremonials which other Churches have rejected: and a pretended, and sometimes an apparent; confent with some elder Ages in many matters Doctrinal; the advantage which is derived to them by entertaining some personal Opinions of the Fathers, which they with infinite clamors fee to be cried up to be a Doctrine of the Church of that the time; the great confent of one part with another in that which most of them affirm to be de fide; the great differences which are commenced amongst their Adversaries, abusing the liberty of Prophefying unto a very great licentiousness; their happiness of being instruments in converting divers Nations; the advantages of Monarchical Government, the benefit of which as well as the inconveniencies (which though they feel they confider f not).

onot) they daily do enjoy; the piety and the austerity of their Religious Orders of Men and Women; the 5 single life of their Priests and Bishops; the riches of \* their Church; the feverity of their Fasts and their exterior observances; the great reputation of their first 6 Bishops for Faith and Sanctity; the known holie ness of some of those persons whose Institutes the Religious persons pretend to imitate; their Miracles fake or true, substantial or imaginary; the casualties and accidents that have happened to their . 4 Adverfaries, which being instances of humanity, . 4 are attributed to several causes, according as the fancies of Men and their interests are pleased or fatisfied; the temporal falicity of their Professors; the oblique arts and indirect procedings of some of f those who departed from them; and, amongst ma-A my other things, the names of Heretick and Schif-A matick, which they with infinite pertinacy fasten upon all that disagree from them: These things s and divers others may very eafily perfuade perfons of much reason and more piety to retain that which they know to have been the Religion of their Fore-fathers, which had actual possession and seise zure of Mens understandings before the opposite oprofessions had a name; and so much the rather, because Religion hath more advantage upon the 4 fancy and affections, than it hath upon Philosophy and fewere discourses, and therefore is the more easily persuaded upon such grounds as these, which " we more apt to amuse than to satisfy the understanding. Secondly, if we consider the Dostrines themfelves, we shall find them to be superstructures ill built, and worse managed; but yet they keep the foundation. The foundation of Faith stands fecure

fecure enough for all their vain and unhandfome struc-

But then on the other side—Many of their Doctrines, says the Bishop, (Mr. Phillips did not chuse to quote these paragraphs) do accidentally teach de lead to ill life, and it will appear to any man that seconfiders the refult of these Propositions: Attristion (which is a low and imperfect degree of forrow for fin, a forrow for fin commenced upon any reafon of a religious hope, or temporal fear, or def fire, or any thing else) is a sufficient disposition for a Man in the Sacrament of penance to receive abfolution, and be justified before God, by taking away the guilt of all his fine, and the obligation to eternal pains. So that already the fear of Hell is quite removed upon conditions to early, that many Men take more pains to get a groat, than by this doctrine we are obliged to, for the curing and \* acquitting all the greatest Sins of a whole life, of the most vitious person in the world: And, but that they affright their people with a fear of Piledtory, or with the severity of Penances, in case they will not venture for Purgatory (for by their Doctrine they may chuse or refuse either) there would be nothing in their Doctrine or Discipline to mipede and flacken their proclivity to fin; but theh they have as easy a cure for that too, with a little more charge sometimes, but most commonly with less trouble: for there are so many Confraternities, fo many priviledged Churches, Altars, Monatteries, Correcteries, Offices, Festivals, and so free a Concellion of Indulgences appendant to all thele, and a thousand fine devices to take away the fear of Purgatory, to commute or explate Penances, • that

that in no Sect of Men do they with more ease and cheapness reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of Heaven, than in the Roman Communion. Yes even Men, professing such Doctrines, if they ling evel, though they teach ill, may be tolerated: their Doctrines by all means, Christian and human, are to be discountenanced; but their persons tolerated eatenus: their Profession and Decrees to be rejected and condemned, but the persons to be permitted, so far forth as by their lives they consute their Doctrines.

But, if we consider their Doctrines in relation to Government, and Publick Societies of Men, then, if they prove faulty, they are so much the more intolerable by how much the consequents are of greater danger and malice: Such Doctrines as these, the Pope may dispense with all oaths taken 6 to God or Man; He may absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to their natural Prince; Faith is 5 not to be kept with Hereticks; Heretical Princes mer be flain by their Subjects, To other docf trines ill life may be confequent—but in these the sill effect is the direct profession and purpose of the s coinion, and therefore the Man and the Man's sopinion is to be dealt with all just as the matter of f fact is to be judged; for it is an immediate, a perhiggived, a direct event, and the very purpose of the sopinion. However, if it might happen that Men should fincerely err in such plane matters of fact (for there are fools enough in the World) yet, if he hold his peace, no Man is to perfecute or puinith him; for then it is mere opinion, which comes not under political cognizance, that is, that coginizance which only can punish corporally; but if

she preaches it, he is actually a Traitor or foditious; so author of Perjury, or a defirover of humans. Society, respectively to the nature of the Docitine; and the preaching such Doctrines cannot be claim the privilege and immunity of a meteopical nion.

Thus we see how the evidence of Rishop Faylor
urns out : and that although the Christian Charity

turns out: and that although the Christian Charity of the Protestant Bishop is far greater than the hopeful of the Popish Historian, who knowingly false fies his authority to impose upon his Reader: yet as midst all his mildness he declares, that publishing such Doctrines, as our Biographes recommends in this Book, is actual Treason or Sedicion.

And could there be any doubt of his treasonable intentions, he is pleased in effect to avow them in the very next paragraph, in which he says, 'As the breach of the Nation with the Catholick Church was begun and carried on in the two latter reigns by resonancing the Supremacy of the See of Rome; the acknowledgment of this article seems to have been the characteristick which distinguished the return to the antient Faith in this.' So that we cannot be Christians, Professors of the antient Faith, unless we return again to the obedience of the Pope, and acknowledge his Supremacy above the Kings Now it will be a consequence easily drawn, that in wirtue of this Supremacy, the Pope may depose the

\* P. 85.

See Jer. Taylor's Liberty of Prophelping, Section 3x. paragraphs 1, 7, and compare Mr. Phillips's account of him, especially in the 2d. Paragraph. Part ii. page 85, 86.

King, and absolve his Subjects from their oath of allegiance. He is indeed 'aware, that the proofs of the expediency, and much more of the neceffity of fuch a mean, will be admitted with difficulty 1: and this he had good reason to be aware of, for, in proportion to the mischievousness of the Doctrine, and the weakness of his proofs, the greatness of the difficulty of admitting them must be. The necessity he had attempted to prove before. from Scripture and Councils, with very little success: the expediency of it is what he here labors to shew from authority. And to catch the unwary Proteftant he compliments his knowledge and judgment: both which he hopes to put affeep by a blind deference to what he represents as the opinion of the seamed Grotius. Let us remember, that the point to be proved is the SUPREMACY of the See of Rome. or authority of the Pope over these and all Nations, including all the Regalia Sancti Petri. The passage he gives us thus, It is well known, fays the learned Grotius, speaking of himself, that I have always wished to see Christians reunited in the same Body; and I once thought this conjunction might be begun by an union of Protestants among themfelves. I have fince perceived that this is impossible, not only, because the Calvinists are averse to all fuch agreements; but, because Protestants are not affociated under any one form of Govern-As ment, and therefore cannot be united in one Body, but must necessarily be separated into other new 6 Sects and divisions, I, therefore, and many o-Athers with me, planely fee, that this concord of · Protestants الوالد المناهدية والهراق

A Protestants can never be effected, unless they are united to the Roman See, without which no Common Church government can take place; for which reason I wish, that the Separation, which has been made, and the causes of it, may coeffe. Now, amongst these, the Canonical Primary of the Bishop of Rome cannot, as Melancthon himself confesses, be placed; for he judges that very Primacy necessary in order to maintain and preserve unity." This he tells us in the Note, is Grotjus's last reply to Rivet, written a short time before his The knowing and judicious Reader will pre-Sently discern, what the less learned or inattentive Reader should be informed of, r. That this passage is not exactly translated; 2. That the last reply to Rivet does not, with any absolute certainty, appear to have been written by Grotius; for, though it is put amongst his works, published by his Son, yet Grotius, at the end of his votum pro pace Ecclesiastica, declares his resolution there to drop the controversy: and the Author of the last reply to River always speaks of Grotius in the third person, whereas, our Translator all along renders it in the first person. And lastly, supposing it to have been written by Gretius, there is not a word in support or favor of the Supremacy of the See of Rome, implying authority over this or any realm, which is the point Mr. Phillips is recommending; but a Canonical Primacy to the Bishop of Rome, in express contradiction to that usurped Supremacy; for to the next words declare, a for this is not subjecting the Church to the will and pleafure of the Pope, but restoring the Order wisely « #flablifhed•\*

f effablished." With what good faith was this last - elause omitted? or is Mr. Phillips weak enough to believe, that knowing and judicious Protestants are to be reclaimed by such dishonest tricks as these? The union of Protestants among one another, and of all with the Bishop of Rome is an Happiness which every ferious good Christian must defire: but the union was destroyed and the Schism made, by that Bishop's lifting himself up above his place; let him give up his usurped Supremacy, or authority over Equals, and that Protestant will be to blame, who shall then deny him his Canonical Primacy, or Priority among Equals. Till that is done, we ought to be, what Christ intended we should be, in Spirituals subject to our local Bishops, under the direction of the Gospel, and protection of the Civil Power, on such conditions as the compact and covenants of our several constitutions shall delineate. And till that is done, Gretius thought the Schism was in the Pope rather than in the Protestants; for he continued to communicate with the latter to the

<sup>\*</sup> Calvinistarum ingenia fermè omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima...ita plane sentir Grotius, et multi cum ipso, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi, niss simul jungantur cum jis, qui sedi Romanæ cobærent; sine qua nullum sperari potest in Ecclesia commune regimen. Ideo optat, at ea divisio quie evenit, et causæ divussionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est Primatus Episcopi Romani secundum Cananes, satente Melancibone, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem. Neque enim boc est ecclesiam subjicere Ponissicis LIBIDINI, sed reponere ordinem sapienter institutum. Rivetiani apologetici pro schismate, contra votum pacis sacti, Discussio. p. 744. column 2.

day of his death. And, as Burigny acknowledges . declared a little before his death in a Letter to Baron Oxenstiern, that ' it would be very difficult to make even the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome useful. sor even to keep it from being hurtful.' Nor did he only prefer the Protestant's profession of faith before the Roman, but, among Protestants, gave the preference to the Church of England; as appears by his Son's Dedication of his Father's Theological Works to Charles II. 'You are He, whom, if not the greater, yet certainly the founder part of the Christian World acknowledges for its Protector .--in whose realms, chiefly, that skill in the facred Writings, that religious Worship, that just refraint on the too curious disputings of the articles of faith is received, with which the Author my Father has long fince testified his assent\*. This asfent he testified in a Letter to a Dutch Dlvine, ' you fee how happily the Reformation of mischievous Doctrines hath proceded in England, for this reafon chiefly, because the Reformers admitted nothing novel, nothing out of their own head, but kept their eyes steadily fixt on the better ages of Christi-

## " L. 6. namb. 24. pag. 240.

Tu enim inter omnes Reges unus ille es, quem protectorem suum pars Christiani orbis, si non major, saniorcerte jamdiu agnoscit...cujus potissimum in regnis, is sacrarum literarum intellectos, is Divini Numinis cultus, is in exercenda nimia illa disputandi de arcanis sidei dogmatibus licentia, receptus est modus, quibuscum convenire se auctor idem et parens meus, jam pridem testatus et publice scriptis his professus est. Petri Grotii Bedicatio, A. D. 1679.

anity 1. The English Service, he says, has been always reputed the best; he advised the Remonstrants to receive Episcopal Ordination at the hands of our Bishops; and declared himself Body and Soul for it, and that it was the likelieft to last of any Church this day in being: he intended to be of it as foon as he had discharged the Embally, in which the Queen of Sweden had employed him; and recommended it to his wife; who in compliance with his request These Testimonies, of communicated with it. which I have only given the substance, may be seen collected at the end of Le Clerc's edition of Grotius Such being the judgment of the learned de Veritate. Grotius. I hope the knowing and judicious Mr. Phillips will pay a deference to the authority, to which he himself has appealed.

But conscious that Grotius is not with him, he does not chuse to rest the cause entirely on his authority; and therefore appeals, in his Note, to the judgment of other Protestant Divines of our Country,

on this point.

The first is Dr. Field's presace to his book on the Church; but what shall we do if Dr. Field's book on the Church has no presace? I suppose we must then take up with his Epistle Dedicator; to Archbishop Bancroft; but there is no prerogative ascribed in it to the Church of Rome; on the contrary, there is a strong affertion of what the whole book is intended to prove, that we of the Church of England have

<sup>†</sup> In Anglia vidés quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maxime de causa, quod qui id fanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, minil admiserint novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora secula intentam fabuere oculorum aciem. Ep. ad Joan. Corvinum.

not departed from the antient faith, nor forfaken the fellowship of the Catholick Church; but that we have forfaken a part to hold communion with the whole; led to do so by the most prevaling reafons that ever perfuaded Men, and the greatest authority on earth. He does not speak one word in it concerning the Pope's Supremacy, excepting where he mentions, ' some Men, serving as vile Infiruments to advance the Tyranny of the Bishon of Rome :... who, though they proclaim their own praises with loud founding trumpets...and magnify themselves, as if all wit and learning had been born with them, and should die with them; yet, whofoever knoweth them will little regard the froth of their swelling words of pride and scorn: seeing, when they have done vaunting, they have done their best, and that which remaineth, is little. worth; their allegations being for the most part but falsifications; their testimonies of antiquity, the marks and notes of their ancient forgeries: their reasons, sophisms; their reports, slanders and calumniation.' Whom this description will suit, Mr. Phillips will do well to consider.

The next Protestant Divine is Dr. Hammond, in his treatise on herely, §. 13. numb. 2, 3. and his Comment on r Tim. iii. 15. In the first of these passages is the beginning of a proof, on which he afterwards enlarges, that it is neither affirmed by the word of God, nor deducible from it, that a General Council (by which he means the whole Church representative) cannot or shall not err; which, yetches is probable, and pious to be believed, though not infallibly certain; but adds, that though it were to err, the Church might shill remain a Church; and that

as for the authority of the present Roman Church, we cannot receive from their sole testimony any part of Christian Doctrine. In the other passage, he ascribes the title of pillar and ground of truth to every particular Church, as well as to the Universal, and says that every Bishop but a Commission from Christ immediately, who administers the affairs of the Church by THEM, not by any one intendment of Vicar.

Dr. Jackson, in the place quoted, complains, that the Papists demand infallible assent and unlimited obedience unto whatsoever the Church shall propose, without examination of her Doctrine, or appeal: which is indeed to take away all the authority of God's Word. And that others, in eagerness of opposition to the Papists, take away authority of spiritual Pastors. There is nothing else to the purpose of Mr. Phillips in the place to which he refers. And I think it had been wiser in him; if he had permitted his inquisitive Readers to have continued ignorant of these passages. I am consident they will never convert a Protestant to Popery; what contrary effect his unfair dealing, and their reasoning may have, I cannot say: I know what it ought to have.

Aware that he had been too indifferete in referring so particularly to the passages above, he thinks it more prudent to refer to Dr. Ferne in the gross, without book, chapter, or page. The other Authors, whom he hath quoted or referred to, are so far from answering his purpose, that instead of searching and guessing which book, or passage in a book of Dr. Ferne, he may have in his view, I shall take the liberty of appealing to the Reader, whether he can be too much on his guard against so gross a Missepresenter.

After

After thus vainly endeavouring to 26. The render the notions of his Church pa-Church and Ablatable to Protestant Readers, he next bey Lands. attempts to level a great obflacie, which lies in the way to check our return to the Church of Rome, as a Nation, from the infecurity apprehended to the Possessors of Abbey and Church Lands, should either a too favorable opinion of Powish Doctrines, or an indifference to any, incline them to make that return. The removing of this impediment is effential to his manifest Design; it is therefore no wonder we see him labor this point fo much: And to leave the impression strong on the Reader's mind, he tells him, The Possesser, stherefore, of Church Lands have all the fecurity which the nature of the case admits; and ho private property feature to be held by fo firm a tenure. The publick good and tranquillity both of the Church and state was the inducement to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of Rome confirmed the petition of a national Clergy which was the injured party; and the unanimous consent of the whole Legislature of a great pedole: all which was ratified by the Legate's full power and actual dispensation.—Could a tranfaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered flable. Rand in need of any weight which the Writer can give it, I think it may be affirmed, that nothing left than the joint concurrence of all the Parties, who affented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it; and I have entered on this detail, because

because, from views which need not be indicated. no particularly biftory has been related with more want, pf good faith, and last the Render book to greater prejudices, '. These transactions, he says are so honorable to the Church of Rome, that no one will, wonder the Adversaries of that Communion, hecause they could not deny the factor hould either misrepresent them, or, like the Poet, call, off the Reader's attention from the principal action to incidents which fancy forms round it.P Yet he has mentioned no one instance of their calling off their Reader's attention thus; and therefore he must be understood to have forged this acculation merely to introduce a proof of his acquaintance with Virgit. But forely never man choic out to strange a line for that purpose, as this Zealor for the Celibacy of the Clergy has done.

Speluncam Dido Dux et Trojanus eandem

Æn. iv. v. 165.

is the line to which he points. What connection his fancy has formed of the Pollessions of Monks and Nuns with this private scene of amorous intercourse; or what adventure of his Life or propensity of his mind has impressed it so strongly on his imagination that he must needs bring it in here by head and shoulders, I cannot undertake to explane. They who know him, perhaps may. The conduct of the Poet is desent and beautiful on this occasion; Having brought the Lovers together, he draws off the attention of the Reader from the Adventure of the Caye, to the signs of Diving displeasure

displeasure at such unlawful Congresses. On the contrary, Mr. Phillips sixes the Reader's attention to the single affair of the Cave, and scosses at the digression to the signs of Divine displeasure as fanciful incidents. I know not which to wonder at most, his Moral Sense or his Poetical Taste! And if Protestants had imitated Virgil's delicacy in this instance, by calling off the Reader's attention from the Delustive Grants of Popes to warn them of the probable dangerous effects of trusting to them, though at present those effects are only incidents of sancy, the Abbey Land owners could have no reason to censure them.

But to return from incidents to the principal point: we have already seen that Julius III. in his General Powers to Pole as Legate, gave leave to transact and agree with them about their moveables and rents already received, provided they first restored the Lands; but left it to the Legate's discretion, whether the restitution should be before or after the agreement 9. The Emperour and the Queen knew that a permission to keep the moveables only, would never buy the Abbey Land Possessors to fubmit to the Pope's Supremacy; and the Legate was afraid to come on that Commission: more special powers therefore were defired from Rome, and granted by Julius; in which the Legate is impowered to transact and agree with the Possessors, as well for the Lands as for the Goods; but with two referictions : not with all in general, but with those particular perfons whom the King and Queen shall recommend; and referving to himself the confirmation in all great and

<sup>4</sup> Vide Burnet, vol. iii. numb. 17.

and weighty cases, to be referred to him at the difcretion of the Legate. On the strength of this last Commission he ventured over. When he came, he found a general discharge was necessary; for in the very beginning of December the Parliament fent a post to Rome, acquainting the Pope planely, that neither the Lords or Commons would grant any thing in his behalf, until he would confirm to them their Purchases, and settle their Sales of Abbet Lands and Chauntries. Therefore, to keep within the letter, though not the intent of the Commission, the Province of Canterbury, in behalf of the Church, whose possessions were alienated, waying the right, which the Canons gave them to demand restitution, petitioned their Majesties to intercede with the Legate, that to avoid disturbances. he would confirm their Lands and Moveables to the present Possessors, and that he would not be difficult or restrained in his permission, 'Thus all were interceded for, and all indemnified by Apoltolical authority, never, either now or hereafter, to be molefted or disturbed in their possessions by Canons of General Councils or Decretal Epiftles, or made subject to any Ecclesiastical Censures on that account 1 Acrele as this Grant from the Legate was, they thought it necessary to fend Ambassadours to procure a confirmation from the Pope. One of these was Lord Montacute, whom Mr. Phillips still mistakes for a Nephew of the Legate's, who never existed: the Legate indeed mentions him to the Pope as his Relation; and so Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute

<sup>1 1</sup>bid, numb. 21. Strype's Mem. vol. ili. 161. 1bid. Original. numb. xxii.

was, but not his Nephew. The Biographer gives a very inconfiftent account of their fetting out on their Embally, and of his Letter of recommendation: faying; ' they let out towards the end of February, and that fome time before they began their iourney, the Legate had fent a very honorable teltimeny of them to the Pope:' now how a Letter, written the 10th of March (as he struly dates it) could be fent some time before the end of Fabruary, is a riddle which requires the folution of a Phillips. Bishop Burnet says, the Bull of confirmation was asked by the Ambassadours, but denied by the Pope ". And Fra. Paels informs us, that the Pope fignified, to the Ambassadours, his displeasure that the Church Lands were not given backe and infished on the necessity of a restitution, as such difpenfations were beyond the extent of his power's This Mr. Phillips fave, is sufficiently resuted by the 's Journal of the House of Commons, which informs us, that a Bull of the Pone was read, which confirmed what the Lord Cardinal had done concerning the afforance of Abbey Landan. This was read Off. 21, 1555. And might not the Pepe blufter in June, and yet fee cause to comply before October ? But I there is not the least trace of what Fra. Paolo afferts, either in the Journal of the Confistories, which the Pope held on this occasion; or in his Letter to the King and Queen." It was not reasonable to expect to find recorded in those Tournals or in that publick Letter the Subffance of the Pope's private conference with the Ambassadours

Introduction to vol. iif. p. 13. Phillips, p. 95.
from Fra. Paolo, lik 5. P. 95. V P. 96.

dours; yet perhaps there is some no very obscure trace in that Letter, of what Fra. Paele afferts, in that clause, where the Pope promises to make it his business to comply with all their requests, which he trusts will be only such as may be honestly asked, as far as God permits.

However, Mr. Phillips affirms, that the Bull of Confirmation was granted. For which he quotes the Journal of the House of Commons. Oct. 21, 1555, and the Letter above-mentioned from the Pope to Philip and Mary, in which he fays (according to Mr. Phillips) that he had \* ratified WHATEVER the English Legate had done; s and, as far as might any way be necessary, had enacted it anew." But the WHATEVER, in Phil-Kes, which might feem to include the Confirmation of the Church Lands, is, in the Original, expresly restrained to the pardon and absolution which the Legate gave, and which the Pope approves and renewst And we know further, that this Bull of Confirmation was not granted when this Letter was written. It is dated the 30th June: but I find the Bishop of Ely, one of those Ambastadours, at Council at Gramwich, 16 Sept. following, on which day the Legate informs King Philip, by Letter, that he expected

## \* P. 106.

Mos enim omnem operam navahimus in his et omnibus aliis vestris desideriis, quæ non nisi honestissima fore considimus, ut quantum cum Deo poterimus, satisfaciamus. Quirin, part 5, p. 139.

† Legati literas, quæ voniæ et absolutionis ipsius sidom saciebant, nobis demum porrigerent, non solum queiam et absolutionem insum apprehaviemu, sed quatenus opus esset, denuo dedimus. Quirini, part 5. p. 137. pected the return of his Messenger from Rome, with the Bull. This proof therefore fails our Biographer, But he tells us it was read in the House of Commons, Oct. 21, 1555. It was so, just after they had chosen their Speaker. But it is a maxim in haw, nan apparere & non essentiate an evidence that cannot be produced is none. And pray where is this Bull to be found? not in the Bullarium, nor any where else that I know of And should we hereaster have occasion to plead it, I fear neither the Journal of the House of Commons, nor even Mr. Phillips's Testimony will be taken in the Court of Roppe.

So that admitting the Bull was granted, and even supposing that, it may be produced, which I do not believe; yet where is our fecurity? For that very Pope, just before he is supposed to have granted this Bull (on the 14 July preceding) ' rescinds and renders void and null all and fingular alienations, or leafes for above three years, of all Church Lands or appurtenances, though made by Popes, or others, even Cardinals, by their authority and command, according to the Decrees of Pope Symmachus and Paul IL who forbad fuch alienations under an anathema, and commanded restitution and satisfaction, and to compel the refractory by Ecclefiastical pains and censures. This was warning before hand not to trust his Bull too far. And accordingly the Princes of Germany trust to no Grants with relation to the Church, Lands, of which they possessed themselves, but by the Preaties and Guaranties into which they entered with one another

<sup>\*</sup> Burnet, vol. iii. Records, numb. 1. \* Hid. Introd.

And a fuspicion of the invalidity of the Pope's general Confirmation appears from an evidence produced by our Biographer in proof of its validity; which is a special Decree of the same-Pope, which confirms the Lands held by Sir William Petre .: This being' after the above confirmation, shews that the final Decree so much boasted of, to exempt the Abbey Lands in general from revocation, were judged, by: Sir William Petre at least, insufficient, without the particular Confirmation of the Pope. And what fecurity could his General or Particular Confirmation give, against the Bull of any future Pope, formed on the plan of that which he himself published the 14 of July, rescinding and voiding all alienations. though made by Popes or their Legates, though fworn to or strengthened by long prescription. pecially, fince as we know not where to find the Bull, we know not in what form it passed: and by a Bullof Pius V. dated Jan. 1, 1569, all alienations are annulled, for being made, either without Licences from the Apostolick See, or if the form of those Licences is not observed, or they should be otherwise to the manifest loss and prejudice of Churches, Monasteries, Benefices, and other Holy Places . And

₹ P. 96.

† Et contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos et celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, se quantumvis longa temporis presseriptione robus sumpsisse dici. possunt. Bulla Paulo IV. Burn, vol. iii. Records, numb. 1.

Beu illarum forma non servata, aut alias in evidens damnum Ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, benesiciorum, et piorum locorum hujusmodi. Bulla Pii V. Jan-

1, 1559.

he enables the persons to whom he grants this Ball, to make void all contracts of this kind, though confirmed by oaths. This may be found in the Bulg larium, although the Confirmation of Pale's transfactions with the Abbey Land Owners cannot. May we not conjecture that it was purposely omitted, either that it might be denied; or might not be examined, till one was produced, or forged, with as many nullities in it as they pleased? If we think the Popes of this Century are more reserved in rescinding pacts and covenants, we find a revocation of a treaty in favor of Protestants so late as 1712, by Clement XI. An extract from which the Reader may see at the bottom \*; and judge of the security of the Ababey Land Owners.

Nay<sub>2</sub>

Sub quibusvis formis et verborum expressionibus habitos et celebratos, etiamsi, juramento vallati existant. Ibid.

"Charissimo in Christo silio nostro Carolo—in, Romanorum Imperatorem electo, Ciemens P. P. XI.

-Majestati tuæ per præsentes denunciamus, ac infimul tradità nobis ab omnipotenti Deo authoritate declaramus prænarratas dieti Tractatus Altranfadensis pactiones, cateraque in eo contenta, qua Catholica Fidei, divino cultui, animarum faluti, Ecclesiæque authoritati, Jurisdictioni, Libertati, ac Juribus quibus-cunque quomodolibet officiunt, sive præjudicium etiam minimum afferant, aut inferre, seu intulisse, vel alias nocere, seu nocuisse quoquomodo dici, censeri, pretendi, vel intelligi possent, cum omnibus & singulis inde secutis, et quomodocunque secuturis, ipso jure nulla, irrita, invalida, injusta, reprobata, inania, viribusque et effectu penitàs ac omninà vacua ab iplo initio fuille. et este, ac perpetud fore, neminemque ad illorum, seu. cujulibat corum, etiamsi pluries ratificata, ac juramento vallata fint, observantiam teneri, imò nec illa ullatenus. antipodium oblevari potuille, ac debuille, aut polle, sue debero

Nay, at the very time of Pole's transaction, a restitution was intended by some means or other: at first by persuasion, for the operation of which, the Mortmain Act was suspended for twenty years, and the Legate admonished them to place before their eves the feverity of God's judgments on Belfhazar King of Babylon, for appropriating the facred. Veffels to a profane use, though not He, but his Father, had taken them out of the Temple of 7erulalem; and that this example should prevale on them to restore all such Vessels (and Lands by the fame rule) to the Churches, to which they had formerly belonged, or others. To lead the way by a more present and effectual example, the King and Queen gave back all their Lands; and what recoveries might they not expect to make in twenty years time, especially on death beds, when the dying perfons, terrified with, being under the curse of two Popes, to escape Purgatory and even Hell fire, might eafily be induced to cheat their Heirs by a restitution of Lands which they could no longer enjoy? And if fuch persuasiens and examples should fail of the defired effect, force, we may venture to fay, was intended, because force was threatned. For what else is the meaning of the following speech, which the Legate made to the Citizens of Landon in 1557,

#### 4 P. 92

debere, neque ex illis cuiquam aliquod jus, vel actionem, aut titulum, etiam coloratum, vel possidendi, ac prassentiendi Causam, acquisitum, vel acquisitam suisse, nec osso.—Pactiones prædictas—harum serie improbamus, rescindimus, cassamus, irritamus, viribusque et essetu penitus ac omnino vacuamus.—Inter Epistolas & Brevia Clemenii XI. sol. Rom. 1724. p. 178.

when they commemorated the return of the Kingdom to Popery, long after his own and the Pope's fupposed ratification: 'And this I say now to you, "who by license and dispensation, do enjoy, keep, and possess such Goods and Lands of the Church. as were found in your hands, that this was done of the Church your Mother's tehderness unto you, confidering your imbecillity and weakness, after fo fore a fickness that you had in a Schism, when vour appetite served you to no meat, but to that fruit that came from the Lands of the Church, and by that you lived. Which she was content you fhould keep still, and made promise it should not " be taken from you; and so it was left in your hand, as it were an apple in a Child's hand, given by the Mother, which the perceiving him to feed too much of, and knowing it should do him hurt, if he himfelf should eat the whole, would have him give her a little piece thereof; which the boy refusing, and whereas he would cry out if she would take it from him, let him alone with it : but the Father her Husband coming in, if he fhould fee how the boy will not let go one morfel to the Mother, who hath given him the whole, " the asking it with so fair means, he may, peradventure, take the apple out of the boy's hand, and if he cry, beat him also, and throw the apple out f of the window. This fure needs no comment: fo that although the Possessor of Church Lands have all the focurity which the nature of the case admits, that is but stender comfort, when they see the case admits of none: no grants from Cardinals

<sup>\*</sup> Strype's Mem. vol. iii. Origin. numb. lxviii.

or Popes, though ratified by oaths, and claimed by ever fo long prescription can avale any thing, if we are foolish enough to give the Pope a Power of rescinding them by his Bulls. We know his disposition to call us naughty boys for keeping this apple; if we again fubmit to the discipline of that Step-mother Church, she, we see, will endeavour to wheedle it out of our hands; and if that will not do, though the Legate is pleased to say, that ' she of herself will never conftrain us further,' yet Holy Father, the Pope, who assumes to do the office of Christ, the Church's Spoule, will force it out of our hands, and beat us into the bargain if we cry. What becomes now of the weight of this Writer's judgments who affirms, that nothing less than the joint concurrence of all. the parties, who affented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it.' In some sense indeed this is true; for fo long as we are resolute to keep out Popery, fo long these Possessions are safe: but if King, Convocation, Lords, Commons, and the people they represent, are wicked, indifferent, or weak enough to restore the Pope's power in this realm, all parties then may be faid to concur in annulling that agreement, which we know the Pope has a defire to rescind, and which he cannot do, unless by acknowledging his Supremacy we give him the authority to do it: whether this is likely to prove a prevaling argument with us to acknowledge that Supremacy, this able Advocate for it may confider: and what thanks he is to expect from his own partilans, for thus calling us to put our people on their guard against such daring falshoods and misrepresentations. His base treatment of Bishop Taylor to recommend their doctrine, and his labored endearough to losten our abhorrence of the Supremacy, by giving a fallacious security to the Abbey Land Owners, is a sufficient proof of his general design; that it was not to write the Life of Reginald Pole, but to use him as a stalking-horse to shoot, under cover, at unwary hirds. Two other like attempts I shall have occasion to take notice of; 1. to lower our regard for Cranmer's memory, whose learning and virtues we have been long accustomed to admire; 2. to lessen our aversion from Popery, occasioned by the detestable cruelties of this reign. But before I examine them as entering into the Design of his work, I shall note one or two more inaccuracies in the execution of it.

Our Biographer having once more reminded us of Pole's talents for negotiation, by giving us a fresh instance of his ill success at it in another fruitless attempt to reconcile the Empire and France; at which time Gardiner, the Chancellor, confirms, by his judgment, the suspicion we have been led hitherto to make of the Cardinal, faying, ' he was doubtful if the Legate's abilities were answerable to such an undertaking, unless he was affisted by persons more expert than himself see and having given us also as much reason to admire his judgment in Divanity, by acquainting us, that at his return from Marc, He and Gardiner joined together to banish Hiebrew out of the University of Oxford, and introduce, instead of the Bible, the sentences of Peter of. Lombardy as a more useful book ; he procedes to give us an account of Pole's Reformation, whose intention, he informs us, was to revive the Constitutions

f P. 109. 8 P. 117.

tions of Otho and Ottobonus, formerly Legates and Archbishops of Canterbury h. Archbishops of Canterbury were Legates by their Office; therefore it had been needless to have added Legates when Archbishops of that See are mentioned: but Otho and Ottobon were Legates à latere, and not Archbishops. The first was Cardinal of St. Nicholas, in carcere, and Legate to Pope Gregory IX. A. D. 1237, in the 21st of Henry III. How good foever his Constitutions may have been his business here was to sleece the Ecclesiasticks: for the like purpose he kindly intended to have gone into Scotland; but that King defired none of his Apostolical Visitations, and forbad his entrance: Ottobon was Cardinal Deacon of St. Adrian, Legate to Clement IV. A. D. 1268, in the 52d. of the same Henry: whose business there was to publish a Crusade, and extort money from the English on that pretense.

In the same account he mentions the care taken about examination for Orders, in which, one particular they were to attend to was, that the Candidate be born in lawful wedlock: and that the Bishops should lay aside human respects and affection, and confer the Benefices of the Church, to the best qualified. Then stops to observe, 'I must here ask the 'Reader's leave to interrupt the account of the

- \* Council, by an instance which the Legate gave of.
- the exactness with which he practised what he
- for prescribed to others: for having a natural Brother, who during Henry's reign, had been Arch-
- deacon of Derby, He conferred no higher Dignity
- on him, till two years after his return to England,
- and then only procured for him the See of Peter-
- & borough, which was one of the least provided for
  - ' of

of the Bishopricks. ('And Bishop Burnet, with Cander, to which on many occasions Mr. Phillips makes a very ungrateful return, praises Pole on this account. But indeed it was hardly worth while for Mr. Phillips to interrupt the Reader to make an observation so little to the Legate's honor, as he states it; for if persons not born in lawful Wedlock were not qualified for Orders at all, furely his natural Brother could not be the best qualified for a Bishoprick ? the Biographer here has rather difgraced, than exalted his Hero, and perhaps at the expence of truth; for I shall very readily vindicate Cardinal Pole from the defamation of his Panegyrift, where I have any room for it. Strype, in his corrections of Bishop Burnet's History, fays, David (the person here meant) was not his Brother, nor a Bastard; for there is no Bull of dispensation in his favor, among those sent over at that time. doubt not but he was a relation: neither did the Cardinal forget, or overlook him fo long; for in little more than a year after his coming into England, he was made Dean of the Peculiars, and in a few days after, Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Audience, and Vicar General to the Archbishop ! Neither was Peterborough at that time the least provided for of the Bishopricks; for, Harmer says, Peterborough was endowed by King Henry far above any of the new erected Bishopricks, and made equal in revenue to most of the antient Bishopricks; and so continued, till Scambler, the Successor of this David Pole, did by a fimoniacal contract convey away the better part of the Possessions of it to a noble person of the neighbourhood "...

Our

P. 131. Burnet, vol. iii. Append. p. 422.

Mewcourt. Harmer, p. 146.

Our Author collects all his rage and 4. 27. Dentb malice at Cranmer's name, and firains of Cranmer. every nerve in his fierce attack upon. this Hero of the Protestant Party, and hopes effectually to demolish the Reformation by overthrowing this main Pillar of it ". But had not very modern Popery. which Bishop Burnet might justly have compared. though he did not, to Circe's wand, inchanted him. he had never supposed that our Church, like theirs\*. was built on the frail person of a Man. The Reformation builds upon a rock, removing the hay and stubble, the perishing materials heaped on it by Popes, to secure our Church a firmer establishment on Christ the foundation. Granmer we look upon but as an Instrument raised by God to clear away the rubbish; and whatever his personal frailties or infirmities may have been, for Christ has appointed men not angels for the work of his ministry here, the Doctrines of the Gospel, by him restored, are not the less pure, nor the corruptions he pointed out less abominable:

## . P. 158.

\* Quis enim in Petri infirmitate Ecclesiæ sirmitatem stabiliat? de cujus sirmitate ancilla ostiaria interrogata respondeat. Ad cujus vocem (ut Gregorius ait) dum mori timuit, vitam negavit. Cum ergo vacillaverit. Petrus, nec sirmus sundatus sit Petri vicarius, tumque jam discrepent de summo Petri sacerdotio Pontisces, et litigent de summo Pontiscio sacerdotes, quis assirmare presumat quempiam quantalibet sanctitate, aut dignitate sulgentem sive sacerdotem, sive Petri vicarium, aut quemvis alium præter Christum esse Christianæ Ecclesiæ sundamentum? Petri de Alliaco Cardin. Camerac. Recommendatio Sacræ Seript.

abominable: and the better use we make of that Blefling which he, by his labor among us, procured for us, we shall esteem him the more highly in love for his, works sake, whatever his faults were in other re-

spects.

Yet if he thinks the faults of Cranmer are sufficient to condemn the Religion he profest, however unjust and inconclusive it may be to infer the falseness of Doctrines from the impersections of those. who profess them; if this Writer, is for reducing the War to a Duel, we need not decline the combat, or be afraid to pitch our Leader against theirs. during the whole time he fate in the See of Canterbury: nav, let him take his advantage and produce: his four Popes, who were cotemporary Bishops. with him against this single Chief, Clement VII. Peul. III. Julius III. and Paul IV. The life of every. one of them was more faulty than his; and his virgin tues more amiable than those of the whole Foun put. together. Clemens VII. was noted for avarice to diffimulation+, extortion1, fimony, luftss, .

 Quum fatali adductus avaritia omnes ordines afflixisset.—Jovius, Hist. sui temp. tom. ii. p. 32.

† Ba siquidem erat ejus ingenii parlimonia et distimu-

latione gaudentis. Jovius in vità Pomp.

† Sacerdotes inulitatis decumis onerarat, officiorum collegiis reditus averterat, salariaque in gymnasio antiquitus ex certo vectigali liberaliter constituta professoribus cum perenni infamize nota subtraxerat—horreorum monopoliis, magni fici questu, annona ad triplum crevisset. Ibid.

|| Purpurei galeri tres concessi, ut illis licitantibus que fæda ambitione corrupti ad senatoriam dignitatem adspirabant, aurum proferrent, eo modo adhastam proposi-

sis emptores non defuere. Ibid.

Maidens, corrupting Matrons, Simony, Murder, Incest, and Parracide. Julius III. for voluptuous-ness and Sodomy. Marcellus III. was but twenty-two days a Pope, and if he was not yet bad, he feared he must be so, if he lived, for he thought it impossible for a Pope to be saved. Paul IV. needs no blacker colors than those in which our Biographer has painted him. Even had all, that the malice of this Writer charges Cranmer with, been justly charged, it had been imprudent to have put the cause between us on this issue. But let us examine the charge.

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been one of the chief promoters of Henry's separation from Gatherine of Aragón, Mother to the Queen; and had moreover pronounced the sentence of the Divorce. He might be chief as to skill and abilities, but not the first adviser or projector, Wolfey, Gardiner, Longland, and Fox, all Popish Bishops, having been engaged two or three years in it, before Cranmer had been at all consulted: His advice indeed had better effect and success than theirs had; such was the soundness of his judgment: which, Gardiner to the King, but recommended it to the King, but recommended it as his own. "Moreover, he pronounced the

. See Sleiden Hift. lib, 24. 2. Ibid. . 4 P. 1491

Neminem enim planè oderat, quum neminem adamaret, præternum ab occultiore causa conciliatos. Jov. Hist. tom. ii. lib. 32.

T. He was supposed to have made away with many Cardinals, whom he suspected to fland in his way to the Papal Chair. See Schelhorne Amenit. Hist. Eccles. vol. ii. p. 315, 316.

the sentence of Divorce." He did so, being by office, first in the Commission; but Gardiner, Longland, and Clark were his Assessors, and equally criminal, if there was any crime in that fentence. He had subscribed to the change of the Settlement made by Parliament, to fet afide the Princesses " Mary and Elisabeth." So did all the Council; but he alone argued and remonstrated against it. He alone had the courage to refuse it, notwithstanding the frowns and the power of Northumberland; nay, when filenced by the opinion of the Judges and Lawyers against him, he still withheld his hand in justice to the Princess; and was the last that yielded, and that too not before he was importuned. and almost upbraided by his beloved Prince; as we fee expresly mentioned in a MS. to which Mr. Strype refers in his Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. When the Council and the Chief Judges had fet their hands to the King's will, last of all they sent for the Archbishop, requiring him also to subfcribe the same will, as they had done. Who answered that he might not without perjury. In which MS. and the Archbishop's Letter to the Queen, in the Appendix to the Memorials, may be feen how honestly the Archbishop withstood this business of the Settlement; whom yet this false Accuser is not ashamed to represent as at the head of it. Most of the rest were pardoned; and he, abundantly the least guilty of all, was attainted. 'His name was at the head of that treasonable and reproachful e declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sozercign's

P. 145. Ibid. Memorials, p. 246.

reign's birth was denied." This is the third time this Equivocation has been employed: his office gave him the first place in figning it. And if he was at the bead of those who figned the declaration on the 19th July in favor of the Lady Jane, he was also at the bead of those, who, on the very next day, required the Duke of Northumberland to submit to Queen Mary, on peril of being taken for a Traitor. 'And he had aggravated these misdemeanors by foreading feditious libels, and raising tumults. This is fomething like Pole's threat, of fnatching away the boy's apple, and then whipping him for crying: the Papists had spread false and scandalous reports of Cranmer, and then called his vindication of himself a libel. The libel shall speak for itself; Whereas fome have abused the name of me, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, bruting abroad; that I have fet up the Mass at Canterbury; and that I offered to say Mass before the Queen's Highness, and at Paul's Church, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years, to fuffer and bear evil reports and lies; and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly; yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they be in one wife to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the World, that it was not I that did fet up the Mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying and diffembling Monk, which caused the Mass to be set up there, without my Advice or Counsel. And as for offering myfelf to fay Mass before the Queen's Highness, or ' in

P. 145. " Ibid.

in any other place, I never did, as her Grace knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me leave---I, with Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall chuse, will, by God's Grace, take upon us to defend, that not only our Common 4 Prayers of the Churches, Ministration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but also that all the Doctrine and Religion, by our faid Sovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more oure, and according to God's word, than any that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's word may be the Judge, and that the reason and proofs may be set out in writing. " Mr. . Phillips is called upon to produce his proofs of the Archbishop's spreading any other seditious libels, and of raising any tumults; or he must take to himself the reproach of a false Accuser, and a prostituted Writer for faction: he indeed himself, it must be supposed, is sensible that he is so, and silently to confess it, by leaving out of his motto to the second Part, ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis, a profession not to write from prejudices of party; but he professes not to write by such heathenish rules of impartiality, as Tully recommends.

Thus we see the Queen's favorites in this reign, were, at least, as guilty as Cranmer; Gardiner was more forward in soliciting the Divorce, and concurred with him in giving the sentence: the Earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and Secretary Petre had less courage and resolution to maintain her Title against the Duke of Northumberland, than the honest Archbishop: They equally with him signed the declaration:

\* Strype's Mem. p. 306.

ration: he equally with them figned the notification for all to return to their Duty to Queen Mary. And what is called a feditious libel was only the just vindication of himself against the malicious reports of his Enemies, the Biographer's Friends. But they were not only pardoned, but rewarded; and he was attainted of High Treason. This was on the 12th of Nov. Bishop Burnet, by mistake, says the 2d. whom Mr. Phillips follows, excufably enough, had he not fet up for uncommon accuracy. fonal injury, fays the Biographer, which each of these offences included, was more than enough to flir up the refentment of a Woman and a Queen: 4 and yet it is probable the execution of this fentence would not have taken place, had not Mary 4 been more disposed to avenge the wrongs done to the Religion she professed, than the treason committed against herself." The Council, who had been witheffes of his regard for Mary, in during to oppose the Duke of Northumberland, which they themselves were afraid to do, pleaded for him to the Queen: and she, perhaps, remembering that his fole intercession had faved her from imprisonment, and even losing her head from the refentment of her Father 2, pardoned him for the Treason; being determined to wreak her vengeance another way, and make him fuffer a more cruel death, by burning him for herefie. Good and Gracious Queen! but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. As to the effect of this Attainder, the Biographer tells us, that by it the See of Canterbury was become void in Law. 6 but

P. 146: \* Godwyn's Annals, p. 165. and Memorials, p. 467.

f. but it was not yet declared vacated; and Craninas f till he was degraded, was confidered as Atchbif shop: the revenues only were sequestered, and the Criminal fent back to the Tower.2' He was attainted Nov. 12, and by the 10th of Dec. the Dead and Chapter of Canterbury declared the See vacated by the Attainder of Thomas Cranmer, the last Arebbishop of the same, and in virtue of this vacancy issued their Commissions of spiritual Jurisdiction, even for Confecration of Bishops. And he was condemned by a Parliament called by the Queen as Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the Pope's Laws having yet no force in this Kingdom, the See of Canterbury was vacant, according to the Laws of the realm, by the Attainder of its Archbishop; and for the Bishop of London's, and the University of Cambridge, as well as the Church of Catterbury. and the whole Kingdom in general, believed and acted accordingly. Yet this attainted Man, dead in the eye of the Law, was afterwards tried for herefy, and, in their way, condemned again. And to make it as uneanonical, as illegal, the Metropolitan was tried, and fentenced by Commissioners, who were only Priests. And at last, when to cover their irregularities, they had introduced the Pope, and procured a fentence of deprivation from him, he was cited to appear at Rome, to make his defence before the Pope; which when he was forcibly prevented from doing; being detained in prison, he was declared contumacious, because he took no care to appear and commanded to be delivered over to the fecular Court. because

Regisser, Wilkins, iv. 94. Bp. Boner

because all things had been indifferently examined on both Parties, and Counfel heard as well on the King's and Queen's behalf, as on the behalf of Grammer, so that he wanted nothing to his neceffary defence 4: Whereas he was not suffered to have any Counsel or Advocate at all. This will fufficiently convince the Reader, that no mercy was thewn to Cranner by this exasperated Queen, but that he was treated within the utmost severity and injuffice. This Decree of the Pope, Mr. Phillips dates, as usually, on the 19th of Jan. 1555-6, in-Read of the xix Kal. Yan. or Dec. 14, and twice aims at giving us the clause of requiring their Mareflies to procede as the Law directs, and is false in both quotations; here he writes, id quod juris federit; fieri mandetis; and at p. 167, id quod juris eft : it should be, id quod juris fuerit in both.

If we attend him to his last stage, we shall see an instance of human infirmity in the Archbishop; and of inhuman treachery and cruelty in his enemies. They were desirous not to save him, but to seduce him into a recantation; to which base purpose Pole devoted his deceitful pen, and supplied the desects of his arguments by a counterfeit benevolence, colored over with a most solemn protestation, expressing himself in this remarkable manner; that his concern for him, and the desire of his welfare was such (he called God to witness) that were there any means of rescuing him from that terrible fentence of death, which, unless he returned to his duty and a right mind, hung over both body.

The Pope's Letters in Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 875.

discortairialanq elgnilliw domibisow as califole data. Jothe homers and umolaments which many befalments Moono in this life. . This was after his degradation; when, as the himself tobserves, alk hope of this recovery mer, over, fig. He therefore never suspected that ithe truth and fincerity of his protestation should even be dispreveds and to prevale ion him to recant they, ententained him at the Deaneny of Ghriff's Church, got him to bowls, and flattered and promised, telling him, the Noblemen bare him good will: that his sectura would be highly acceptable to the King and Queen; that he should enjoy his former dignity in the Church por if it liked him better, he should s lead a dulet life in more privacy rethat it was but f fetting his name in two words in a piece of paper, They fold him the Queen was resolved to have 6 Granmer a Catholick, or no Granmer at all: That I he was fill-lufty and frong, and might dive many s a year more, if he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible death of burning. Doubtless, he sinfully suffered himself to be too much sinflyenced by fuch confiderations; and in order to punish this, fault, and to convince us that our sufficiency, is of God, and that we can do nothing without him, it pleased God to forsake him for a season, and leave him to his own natural Strength: he then gave a proof how weak the field is the natural Manageighed in the balance life, favor, and honor, against death, contempt, and tortures : it is certain, when nature only holds the balance, which fcale will prepondetate: under this develication he recented a and during . atha

F. P. 148. Strype's Life of Cranmer, App. 894

she continuance of it, subscribed a second recentar tion: Human weakness was not the univi letton which this event has taught us, but also a deterrable findance of Popith. Perfidy: 1: They:promised him life and honor as the reward of his retracting; he complied, and they burned him: The merciful Queen forgave him all injuries done to herfelf, but his herefy the could not pardon; he retracted his herefy, as the called it, and yet the burned him : the meek and centle Pale called God to witness, that if he could by any means preferve Cranner from temporal and eternal death, from which repentance only could deliver him, he would prefer it to all the wealth and -honors in the world; yet, when he had repented fo far that his Preacher, (though his whole harangue was an abusive insult on a Man who had been forgiven his Civil erimes, and had retracted his heresits) ventured to assure him he should that day be with Christ in Paradise, this solemn Protester proclaimed his infineerity and fuffered the fentence to be executed. What, could not the Pope's Legate, the Queen's chief favorite and Minister, aspecially in Ecclefiaftical concerns, have influence enough with the Queen, his Cousen, to save a Heretick, reclaimed, from the fire? Alass! no documents appear that he moved one step, or speke one word in his fayor: but we read that on the very next day after the burning of Crahmer, the Lord Cardinal Pole was confecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

What must not I dread from Mr. Phillips's resentment, when he dares attack Bishop Burnet, for that f notwithstanding this solemn declaration, he, withf out the least grounds, or even pretending to allege any authority, is not ashamed to advance, that f Cardinal

E Cardinal Pole's impatience to get into the See of " Canterbury, caused him to hasten Granmer's death; and that this, and his passive: behaviour in the e perfecution carried on against Hereticks, were the only stains in his life. b. Mr. Phillies must take shame to himself for this salse charge; for the Bishop does not advance it, but fays, it was thought that he haffned the execution of Granner : and adds, which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him. So that he only relates the epinion and report of the times. And that fuch was the opinion and report of the times then, appears from Pole's immediate Successor's History of the Antiquity of the British Church, and Lives of the Archbishops of Ganterbury. charges Pale with a feigned and counterfeited Sanctity, thirsting for blood, and decreeing Crusmer's death at a time when he was almost certain of his discharge. And that; to the eternal infamy of the Cardinal, the Archbilhop was burnt at Pole's infligation\*. 'The Biographer's reprefenting in defence of the Cardinal, that he had no temptation to haften Granmer's death, because that Prelate was already dead in Law, and the Cardinal in possession of the

# h P. 148, Note.

\* Sed neque Pontificorum immanitas, nec ficia et adumbrata Poli fanaitas, que integerrimi cujusquam sanguium expetivit, hac retractatione contenta este poterat. Nam cam in vitæ spem pene certam venisset Cranmerus, præstò ei adsuit ex Poli Cardinalis decreto exitium. Vit. Th. Cranm. p. 511.

Illud autem ad æternam immanisatis pontificige memoriam infamiamque contra Polum valebit; quod es legato et accelerante integetrimus Archiepiscopus Grannerus

spue crematus est. Vit. Reg. Pol. p. 533.

sevenues of the Archbishoprick, is weak and infusficient; for Pole who feared Paul IV. and that he might refuse him the Archbishoprick, and recal him to Rome, might hasten the vacancy, while his Interest with the King and Queen, and theirs with the Pope, were able to fecure this point. Accordingly he made use of this Interest, to make it a condition with the Pope, that his Holiness should not oblige him to go to Rome, or be absent from a Post which required Refidence.1' Bishop Burnet seems not to have known the Cardinal's character so well, as, by Mr. Phillips's means, I have had an opportunity of knowing it, by attending to his springs of action, and watching the unfoldings of his mind in his writings and Correspondence. The Bishop therefore speaks much more favorably of him than I posfibly can, from the evidence I have feen. Nothing has or will be faid from malice, but only what appears from that strict enquiry into the whole conduct of his Life, into which this Biographer has led

But, although it pleased God to permit Crammer to fall for a time, that the Papists might publish their own breach of faith as a monument of their disgrace for ever: yet Cranmer was again visited by the Grace of God, and enabled thereby to retract his recantation, with a greatness and resolution far beyond his natural powers. 'Forasmuch, says he, as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished.' And when the saggots were lighted round him, he thrust his right hand into the slame, and held it there a good

good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body, crying out, This hand hath offended. A more painful penance, or more publick satisfaction, he could not make: insomuch that a Popish Spectator witnesseth, that could he approve the cause, his patience in the torment, and his courage in dying, were such, that he could worthily have commended the example and matched it with the fame of any Father in antient time.

' However rigorous this proceding may appear, ' fays our Biographer, the Criminal, on whom the punishment was inflicted, would have objected to it with an ill grace.' If this proceding appears very rigorous in this Gentleman's eye, I prefume he cannot discern in it either any mercy in Queen Mary, any, truth in Pole's folemn protestation, or any fincerity in the promises given to Cranmer. might not Cranmer who experienced this rigorous proceding, object to it with a good grace? why it feems, he had consented to Lambert's and Ann Askew's deaths, who had fuffered under Henry, for thole e very opinions which himself held concerning the Eucharist.1' Was it to be wondered at, or does this Writer upbraid him for acting like a Roman Catholick, while he was a Roman Catholick? before his conversion, by conference with Dr. Ridley, he was a believer of Transubstantiation. backward to confess with St. Paul, when the blood of thy Martyr was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting to his death ". Yet furely the Protestants might glorify God in him, as the primitive Christians did in St. Paul, that he who persecuted them in times past, after-

<sup>\*</sup> See Life of Cranmer, p. 389. ! P. 152. \* Acta xxii. 20.

ward preached the faith which once he destroyed. Yet may we not alk, how far was Cranmer indeed concerned in these Executions? Lambert was brought before him and other Bishops for denying Transubstantiation; and appealed from the Bishops to the King. Thus the matter was taken out of his hands, and he had no other share in it, but to take his turn in the disputation to defend opinions which he then held. And no Records (that I know of) tell us, that he was at all concerned in the affair of Ann Alkew, which fell out at a time when the perfecuting Papists were in power, and Cranmer under a cloud. The fame reign wore a different aspect, as Cranmer or the Papists had the lead: Even Lambert's execution was owing to the subtle cruelty of Gardiner, by whose instigation Henry resolved to dispute with him publickly, after that unhappy man had appealed from the Bishops to the King, But, after his converfion in this point, ' he fet the example in Edward's reign, of that very proceding which was now retaliated upon himself: He sate on Joan Bocher, con-6 demned her as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered her up to the secular power to be punished according to her deferts. He behaved in the same manner to George Van Par, a German Surgeon: and they were both burnt at the stake in Smith-" field." The Reformation was gradual, and not perfect at once; as this Writer is very well aware of, when he charges Cranmer with ' never ceasing to weary the Publick with schemes of further changes. P' In Henry's time he had got rid of the unscriptural tyranny of the Pope's Supremacy in thefe

<sup>\*</sup> Gal. i. 23, 24. P. 152. P. 155.

these Kingdoms; yet still holding Transubstantiation: in Edward's reign he was enlightened in this point, but still continued under Papal darkness with respect to the punishment of Hereticks. gainst Herely was no crime in Cranner, nor will it be so in any the most rational or humane Protestant: the judgment in determining what is Herefy, and how the Hereticks are to be dealt with, are the points in dispute. In the first, Cranmer was very randid and moderate, as this Writer acknowledges, when he reproaches him for it; ' inviting over foreign Sectaries, and however Antichristian their Tenets were, obtained for them Churches—every e path being right to him, which led the Nation. of which he was Primate, aftray. This difforted picture at least gives us so far a true idea of him. that he was not rash in determining heresy, but bore with great patience and brotherly love those who differed in opinion from him. And though Popifir opinions were just as distant from his, as his were from Popish ones, yet he did not set the example of that very proceding which he now experienced from them; he burnt no Papist, though persecuted, opposed, and extremely ill used by them. But 'he' condemned Joan Bocher and George Van Par; and they were both burnt at the stake at Smithfield.' In this point, the manner of punishing Hereticks, which the Apostolical Rule directs to be, by rejection after a repeted admonition, Tit. iii. 10. he still continued and I believe died, under the influence and prejudice of Popish error. In judging what was berefy he followed Apostolical discipline and Gospel doctrine. holding fast the form of sound words'. This form of found.

4 lbid. 2 Tim. i. 13.

found words, Athanafius\* and St. Augustin acquaint us, was that thort compendium, which Christ gave in charge to instruct all his disciples, Ga, teach all nations, haptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'. Accordingly the definition of Herefy in the Theedofian Code, was, the denying of this effential fundamental doctrinet. Joen Bocher and Van Par came within this primitive, univerfally acknowledged description of herefy; holding contrary to what Leo I. in an Epifle to Theodoffus. favs, was the belief of the Martyrs, the confession of the true divinity, and of the true humanity in Christi. Van Par denied the former, and Jean Bacher the latter. So that Cranmer's judgment, in determining their opinions to be herefy, stands approved by the general consent of the Church from the most primitive times. As to the punishment by burning, it was not agreeable to the spirit of the Gospel: the calling for fire to confume those who will not receive

# · Matth. xxviii. 19.

\* Aug. Sermone in Symbolum er Athanasius in Epistolà ad ubique orthodoxos. Summa et corpus totius nostræ sidei contineter in verbis Baptismi, et sundatur in illà Scripturà. Ite et baptizate omnes nationes in nomine Patris, Fisii, et Spiritus Sancti.

† Secundum Apostolicam disciplinam, Evangelicam que doctrinam Patris et Filii, et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub parili majestate et sub pia Trinitate credamus, hanc legem sequentes, Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, reliquos verò dementes vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. de side Catholica. leg. 2. A. D. 380.

† — Quibus alia non fuit causa patiendi, nisi confessio verze divinitatis, et verze humanitatis in Christo.

Stive Uhrift, procedes from a mistaken spirit. But he learned this miffake in the school of Popery. which was one of the errors he had not yet been taught to correct: and though this Writer, to foad Granmer, blames him in the affair of the Maid of Kent, as if the was more a Bedlamite than a Heretick, yet I find not that the was to accounted, and . a Popish Writer who lived at that time; and therefore knew her better than Mr. Phillips could, affirms that she was worthily burned in Smithfield. for the Arian some aggravating circumstances may reasonably be supposed to have contributed to his condemnation, for he was not the only Arian then' in England, as appears by a Letter from Martin Mieronius to Bullenger, complaining of the trouble which the Protestants here had, not only with the Papifts, but with Sectaries, licentious rioters, pretended Gospellers, and a new set of Arians. Many foreigners flying hither from persecution in Germany were received and encouraged by the Archbishop. though they did not agree with as in all points of discipline; but among them mixt also Enthusiasts. and licentious Men who would submit to no discipline; and in the cargo were imported personated Anabaptists sent over on purpose to disturb the state in their defigns of further reformation and union among all Protestants, who were configured to the caré

t Luke ix. 55. Inter Epist. tigurinas nondum editas.

<sup>\*</sup> Miles Huggard. The displaying of the Protestants, fol. 19.

care of Gardiners and others to support and asses them. This made it necessary to shew some severity and Cranmer's conscience, not yet sufficiently informed (for I find him meditating still further improvements so late as 1552, by a Letter from Calvin) thought, it lawful in cases of undoubted herefy to execute the laws in being against them. But the young King scrupled to fign the warrant till the Arghbishop perswaded him." -- Certainly the Archbishop, who had been laboring to convert her for a whole year, must be allowed a sufficient judge of herblameable obstituacy and guilt, and whether she deferved a mitigation of the laws in indulgence to her, supposing those laws just; which his, yet unreformed; prejudices imagined they were. It is also observed by the Biographer, ' that these procedings were carried on three years after the Statutes against Hereticks were repealed.x' The repealed Statutes were 5 Rich. II. cap. 1: the 2d Henry IV. cap. 15. and the 2d Henry V. cap. 7. but the repealing these Statutes did not repeal the Carton Law and Common. Law of England, which before those reigns punished Hereticks by burning. So suffered an Apostate Deacon in 1222, under Stephen Langton; according to Braffon; and in 1347 Polydore Virgil v tells us, two Franciscans were burnt, quod de religione male sentirent, for their religious sentiments. Such being the Law, fo certain the guilt, so great the provocations; and

The 153! \* Ibid. \* Hist. Ang. Ib. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The Letter, recommending them to Gardiner and another Bishop, was found in Queen Blifabeth's Closet; among some Papers of Queen Mary. See Strype's Mess morials, p. 208.

and such the uncorrected judgment of Granmer, Protestants, who consider that these two are all the examples of Hereticks suffering death in this reign, will, I am perswaded, more admire the lenity than the severity of the Archbishop: and Papists must awkwardly object, as a slaw in his charecter, the only remnant of Popery that was left in him.

As to the fentence being 'pronounced with all the pomp in which severity and oftentation can dress it up.2' The man must have a great disposition to trifling that can laugh at the usual decent solemnity, which so serious an affair called for: a foul in danger, and a life condemned to end in torture, were not laughing matters in Cranmer's judgment, whatever they may be in this Writer's opinion, or might have been in that of Bishop Boner. who thought the degrading of this venerable Prelate in order to burn him was a fit occasion to shew. his wit, fuch as it was; This is the man that despised the Pope, and is now judged by him: this is the man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church; this is the man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it .

And though Mr. Phillips has brought the Archbishop to the stake, his malice against him is not yet sated; for being a principal Author of the Resormation, our Biographer's Design to blacken that under color of writing the Life of Reginald Pole, made it necessary for him to step back about thirty years, and write the Life of Thomas Cranmer also in which he casts all his virtues into shade, and makes

E Ibid. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 333.

makes what he judges the most exceptionable parts

fland out.

The first is his entrance on the Episcopal Character, at his confectation; 'The oath of obedience to the See of Rome, fays Mr. Phillips, is a rite observed on that occasion, and Cranmer retired into a private place, and entered a Protest ae gainst the oath he was going to take, and then took it.b' When the See of Canterbury became vacant, Cranmer was in Germany, employed there by the King; Henry fent for him to accept the Archbishoprick; Cranmer, aware of this imposed Oath to the Pope, was defirous to avoid the fnare, and pretended to foresee exigencies, which would require his stay abroad, for his Majesty's service. But the King fent his commands to return and take this office upon him. Duty brought him over; but still he begged he might decline the Honor intended him: when the King still prest, Cranmer planely told him, he could not take the oath to the Pope, which was contrary to his allegiance to the King. was then advised to take it with protestation, that he meant not by that oath any obedience to the Pope. inconfistent with the laws of God, his allegiance to the King, or the laws and privileges of the realm. This was done, not in a private place, but in the Chapter House of St. Stephen's Chapel, before several Doctors of Law and a Notary Publick, and again repeted in publick at his Confecration . Why is the noble forbearance of Cranmer concealed, who declined the first Honors in the Church rather than take an oath which the Laws of God forbad him to keep ? X 2

P. 154. Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 20.

keep! Why was the difficulty of his case, from the peremptory Will of Henry VIII. suppressed & Why is his Protestation in publick, before many witnesses, falfely represented as done by retiring into a private place? Why were these circumstances omitted? and what in fimilar circumstances is the judgment of Poplish Casuists? According to the Casuistry, of Bishop Gardiner, the Protest was not necessary; for he had taken the same oath to the Pope, and then refused the Supremacy maintained in it, saying in his defence, ' that an Engagement against right is by on means binding.d' And Suarez, on the very fubiect of an oath of obedience, evacutes that of allegiance made by a Papist to King James I. on these principles; that fuch oaths always imply, either a tacit condition that the obedience may be paid without evident detriment or danger to the person who takes it, or the referve of a Superior's right, notwithstanding such promise made by a subject, to prohibit the performance of it+. Apply this to Granmer's case; the King had a right unquestionably from Scripture, to the obedience of his subjects, the Pope's assumed authority over the same subject, 'requiring

### d De Obedientia.

Coram vobis authentica persona et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant. Archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publicè et expresse protestor.—Ex Cranmeri Registro. vid. Memorials of Arch. Cranmer, App. numb. v.

† In similibus juramentis semper includitur vel conditio tacita, si promissio impleri possit sine notabili damino et periculo jurantis---vel intelligitur reservatum jus superioris, qui non obstante promissione à subdito sacta potest illi prohibere, ne illam impleat. Libro vi. de juramento sidelitatis, cap. ii. ¶. 7. p. 409.

muiring an obedience inconfistent with his allegia ance to an acknowledged Superior, was confequently void by the implied conditions of the oath itself. Again Suarez teaches, that supposing the Pope can depose King James, it follows, that the oath, and allegiance engaged by that oath, were discharged by such deposing; for the oath was given, not to James in his own person, but to James, as King; James therefore being no longer King, the oath taken to obev him is null of course\*. By which rule, Granmer's oath given to Clem. VII. as Superior to the King in England, had no obligation, Clem. VII. having ceased to be Superior to the King in England at the very time of taking it: it was a ceremony pro forma, and as such the Archbishop looked upon it: a Papist therefore has no right to censure him, even if he had taken the oath without a Protest; but he thought it more honest, before he took the oath imposed, to declare in what sense he took it. had Cranmer made this protest ever so secretly, without any publick record, or without witnesses, even by a mental refervation, it had been only according to the easy methods invented by this Gentleman's good friends and favorites the Jesuits, to avoid telling lies in the intrigues of the World; for by the doctrine of Sanchez and Filliucius, it is the intention that constitutes the quality of the action. And E/-X .3 cobar.

<sup>\*</sup> Si Papa potest deponere Regem consequenter necesse est, ut auferre possit vinculum obedientiæ et juramenti quia non promittitur obedientia Jacobo, ut Jacobus est, sed ut Rex; unde si desinat esse Rex, eo ipso non debetur ei obedientia, ac subinde nec juramentum obligat, nam sublata materia juramenti, consequenter juramenti obligationem auferri necesse est. Ibid.

cobar gives this general rule, Promifes do not bind a man that has no intention to be bound by them. These are the Casuists whom the Canon of Tongres recommends to his Student in Divinity, to conquer the reluctancy of corrupt Nature, to advance daily in virtue, to purify his intentions, and perfect his actions, to refine and ennoble his mind with every Christian Disposition. He that can recommend and praise such Casuists ought not to censure Cranmer for the open explanation of his oath.

Our Biographer procedes; 'after his return from Germany, he continued during the remaining part of that Prince's reign, which was thirteen years; f in a constant diffimulation of his religion, and a daily profession and practice of what he difbeliev-A heavy charge against an Elder! but hois it supported ! Why, in consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he subscribed to the six famous Articles, which contain so many points in which the Reformers disagree with the antient Doctrine, though he disbelieved them all.' without evidence; and what is worse against evidence, as Mr. Phillips could not easily avoid knowing: for Cranmer disputed three days earnestly against the unreasonableness of that Act, and, instead of subscribing, staid and protested against it, although the King (determined to pass the Act) desired him to go out, fince he could not confent. Which not only difproves this false Accuser of the Brethren, in this point, but at the same time wipes off another calumny against the Archbishop cast forth just before,

Paich. Letter ix. f Study of Sacred Literature, p. 89. P. 154. Life of Cranmer, p. 73.

by our Biographer, faying, there was no abject compliance, to which he did not let himself down. to flatter the Paffions of Henry VIII. and secure his own credit.1' He is not ashamed to repete the former falshood, nor to aggravate it with a circumstance as false as the charge itself: 'He subscribed to the fix Articles, fays he, by which the Mass, the cae pital object of the Reformation's aversion, is anf proved.k' Now, he not only did not subscribe the fix Articles, but his Reformation at that time had no aversion to the Mass; for he was not drawn from that error till seven years after. All the submission he paid to the Act after it was passed into a Law, was, not to preach, or obstinately maintain in publick. or act contrary to it. After thus taking much iniquitous pains to deform him, Mr. Phillips tells us, bis Conscience, Leopard like, was spotted all over : Cranmer doubtless had his faults, as well as the Leopard his spots; but let us not mistake for such, the cruel wounds of his Hunters. The Gentleman has opened to us the source of all his Malice, he was the principal Author of the Reformation. The effects of this Malice appear in the several instances of it, which follow from page 155 to page 157; they are proposed as charges against Cranmer, they will turn out proofs against Phillips. He preludes to the charge, by representing Osiander, whose Niece Cranmer married, as one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the age, on the authority of Calvin and Melancthon. cares not to tell us where; Moreri, Mosheim, and the Dictionaire portatif of M. L'Advocat, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, call him a violent man, but other-Χı wiſċ

1 P. 154. P. 157.

wife blame not his moral character; Malchior Adame, indeed, in his Life of Ofander, fays of him offcom: Melancthon) that he was of a strong constitution, and able to drink a great deal; and that Calvin acquied; him to Melanethon, of an irreverent application of Scripture in praise of good wine: this, though baddoes not make him one of the most profane and diffolute. wretches of the age: and even had Ofiander deserved such a character, being acquainted with a bad man and marrying his Niece are no crimes, that I know of. His more direct charge against Granmar is as follows; He threw off the Mask-There is no proof given by Mr. Phillips that Granmer ever wore onedeclared for the Calvinistical opinions, A8 they removed him further from the Catholick Church-He did not declare for Calvinistical opinions in general, if for: any; and never because they removed him further from Catholick Belief-scarce one Article which be did not oppugn—He oppugned no one Article of the Apostle's Creed. Wrote a Treatise against ALL Traditions-He wrote a Confutation of unwritten Verities, as the Papists called their idle Traditions, proving that neither the writings of the old Fathers, or General Councils, without the Word of God, were sufficient to make Articles of Faith; much less Popish Apparitions, Miracles, Customs, juglings and impostures: but he collected with great care the opinions of the Fathers, and paid great regard to them .- He never ceased to urge the young Prince to further changes, and to weary the Publick with Schemes on . . that fubject-Offering proposals for a further Refermation, is very different from never ceasing to urge the King and weary the Publick; but one, who hates all Reformation, will be foon weary of every scheme

for it. - Every path being right to him which led the nation astray. Then he would not have condemned the two Hereticks in Edward's reign-He invited over foreign Sectories, and bowever Antichristian their tenets were obtained for them Churches-To those who substitute the Pope in the place of Christ, opposition to that Roman Idol will be apt to appear Antichristian; but it does not appear that Cranmer invited over any persons whom he knew or believed to hold erroneous opinions, if Christ's Law and not Papal Decrees were allowed to be the rule to judge by. Bucer, Fagius, and Martyr had, in the main, the same opinions with himself. P. Ochin was respected long after he left England, and did not write in favor of Polygamy till several years after Cranmer's death; as should feem from Bayle, who mentions the offence taken at it, in the year 1563, and never gave the least proof of being an Atheist. And even, if he was a Socinian, it is no more reproach furely to Cranmer to have entertained Ochin, who was some years afterwards suspected of Socinianism, than it was to Cardinal Pole, that he entertained Dudithius in his service who doubtless was one. A Lasco had no English preferment, but was Minister of a Dutch Church in London, which it was no crime to tolerate, unless Mr. Phillips thinks only one Communion ought to be tolerated, and then his own ought not. A Lasco left England on the death of Edward VI. and lived seven years after: and if he fell into fuch notions as Mr. Phillips mentions (for which he produces no proof) it might be after Cranmer's death, or Cranmer might know nothing of them.

These facts charged against Cranmer, and the petiers that follow, the Biographer holdly tells us. Dr.

Dr. Burnet grants1; but he is not kind enough to tell us where: till he does, I shall venture to set this down as a falshood, of which himself is conscious. He then procedes to give a sketch of Cranmer's Conscience a and fets out with this definition of Confeience, that it is a faculty which was given to discern good from evil: this may fuit the Quakers inward light, but does not agree with his own Schoolmen, who defcribe it as a knowledge of Law, joined with a knowledge of fact, and from that joint knowledge difcerning whether an action be good or evil. judgment therefore, which Conscience must be right or wrong in proportion to our knowledge of the Law and our knowledge of the fact. Now if Cranmer, knew that every foul was to be fubjest to the bigher, meaning the fecular, Power, and that he had endeavoured to submit the Clergy to the King, his Conscience must allow or approve the action: But if Mr. Phillips substitutes Papal Decrees instead of Christ's Law, and mistakes a submitting the persons and possessions of the Clergy to their Prince, for an acknowledgment that he is the fole source of all spiritual jurisdiction, his Conscience in condemning Cranmer must be erroneous, from an ignorance both of Law and Fact. If he knows the Divine Law, and the Fact to be as I state it, and yet condemns the Archbishop, he acts against Conscience.—He condemns him for holding that it was by the King's Sufferance that the Primate could judge and determine a meer spiritual cause: The offence. against the Laws of God, of living in incestuous marriage, and the Archbilhop's office to determine and judge mere spiritual causes within his District according

according to ancient Canons, convinced Granmer that it was his Duty to determine the King's Cause : but when the King was a party, he knew the Archbishop's judgment could have no effect without the Royal Sufferance; he therefore asked his permission. and the King, obediently submitting to the observance of God's Laws, but faving his Preheminence over the Archbishop as his Subject, granted the request. pretended to judge in the same cause, trary to the Canon (being out of his Diocese) and without the King's sufferance: but his sentence was without effect. On Edward's Accession, he acknowledged he held his Archbishoprick revocable at the King's pleasure: It is possible that Cranmer might blameably comply too far with those who contrived this bridle to check the Popish Bishops; who it was apprehended, nor was that apprehension unjust, would behave fo feditiously as to deserve to be thrust from the High Priesthood, like Abiathar, and be fent to their own fields. And for that reason we findtheir ordinary jurisdiction was restrained, they not being such as the King could trust: Yet, in that reign, the Commissions to new Bishops, which at first were durante bene placito, were changed into Commissions durante vità.-He and the other Bishops took out special licences to exercise their Episcopal functions .- They no where pretend to derive those functions from the King. but the liberty of exercifing them in fuch districts of his dominions. The King might, as Edward I. did. lock up their barn doors and put their persons out of his Protection; the question then would be, whether it is more expedient for the advancement of Christian Religion to submit the exercise of their spiritual functions to the King's licence or not? if the King's condition

Aftions are contrary to God's Laws or Christ's Institutions, the Clergy ought to refuse them, and at all hamards exercise their functions, were unto them if they preach not the Gospel. But if the conditions are such as may be complied with, without violating the Gospel discipline, prudence will advise a compliance for the furtherance of the Gospel. This was not only the Doctrine of Cranmer, but of Pope Pius IV. who. for the Salvation of the Nation, promised Queen Elisabeth to disannul the sentence against her Mother's marriage as unjust, confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments to the English under both kinds. on candition, that she would join herself to the Roin the Church, and acknowledge the Primacy of the Chair of Rome."'-He suffered Cromwell, though a Layman to prefide at all the Convocations of the Clergy. When the King was convinced that the Popish Clergy, to whose care the Morals of his people had been formerly committed, were grown so negligent, and so inmoral themselves, that Christ it was feared could not know the Church to be his Spouse, he thought it the Duty of a King to see to the Reformation of his Kingdom; and as he could not be present every where, he deputed a person to execute bis office in this case (which certainly was a Lay-Office) and this person was his Secretary Cromwell; who might, in the King's Right, call Synods and Convocations, and prefide in them (as the Emperour or his Delegate might with regard to General Councils) for this end, pro reformatione vel emendasione Perfonarum, Locorum, et Ordinum prædictorum". Latitude

m Camden's Hist. of Q. Elisabeth, p. 48. and Sir Roger Twisden's Vindication, p. 176.

n Cromwell's Commission in Collier's Records, numb. xxx.

-Latitude of principle permitted bim to dissolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriously falle. - In she case of Queen Catherine, the marriage was confeffedly against the Canons; Julius's dispensation sufpected of forgery; and the power of dispensing in the case judged invalid and ineffectual by most of the Learned in Europe: in the case of Ann Bolen, however false the pretext was, of a prior contract, it was at least what she thought proper to confess .- To fign the death of the Duke of Somerfet's Brother, withaut bringing him to trial .- Conviction by Attainder without open trial face to face, was too common at that time, and I believe has no Defenders now, except in Mr. Phillips; who speaks of the punishment of Cromwell, without any legal trial, and unheard, with great satisfaction, and seems to enfor it like a cordial drop. But Cranmer was by no means particularly guilty, in this or any other inflance of that kind. Thirty three Articles were brought against the Admiral, they were manifestly proved, fays the Council Book, not only by witnesses, but by Letters under his own hand; all the Judges and the King's Council delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treason; his devising to get the government and possession of the King's person, and supplying him privately with money, were confessed by him; the Lords on hearing the evidence against him, unanimously consented to his Attainder: and the Commons, who pressed for a trial, on hearing the evidence renewed, agreed to the Bill, with only twelve diffentient in a House of about four hundred Members. What is there in all this particularly

<sup>•</sup> Phillips, part 1, p. 289, 290-

barticularly to Cranmer's dishonor! He signed the death of the Admiral; As a Privy Counfellor after the Lords and Commons had attainted him. I know not how he could avoid it. The Biographer's Friends Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Petre did the fame.—It permitted him, though a Prieft, and confequently obliged to celibacy by the most folemn ties, to take a wife—and to exact even from Deacons, a folomn engagement, to a single life, to which, though an Archbishop, be did not think bimself obliged .- Neither he, nor the Deacons mentioned, were Regulars; therefore no oath was required of him, or them, to fingle life. It might be recommended to them, in obedience to human L'aws, but not as injoined by the Gospel Law: Mr. Phillips indeed seems destrous to make an Apostolical Law to this purpose, by falfifying St. Paul, faying, Bishops were requested to live, as that Apostle expresses himself, soberly, CHASTLY, and pioully; now the Apostle speaks there not of the Clergy only, but of all men, Tit. ii. 11. therefore CHASTLY, had it been in the Text, must have meant, as well in marriage as out of it; but it happens the word is not there, it is Anains, which we have justly translated righteouply. What a malicious perverter. instead of an Interpreter, of Scripture have we here? -To pray to Saints, and to pag a respect to their reprefentations, though all these practices were abjured by the late Dostrines with which he had taken up .- Every fufspicion of an Error, before it is sisted and examined by a Council of Divines, is not to influence publick practice; Cranmer's Reformation was gradual; but I challenge this Defamer to produce any proof of Cranmer's worshipping Images after he had abjured the

the practice. His other objections have been answered already.

And now we may ask where is this Writer's ' Confciousness, of having sacrificed much of his own way of thinking out of respect to his English Readers, by suppressing not only many things which might be liable to raise displeasure: but many, where his claim to approbation, or, at least, to indulgence, appeared very justifiable. But his Panegyrick on his own candor, is as false as his libel upon Cranmer; both calculated to promote his defign, to recommend Popery, and discredit the Reformation; but equally foreign to the elucidation of Pole's character. And I may trust to the equity of the Popish Reader to judge of the conduct of Protestant Writers and Mr. Phillips, with respect to Cranmer's character; Bishop Burnet commends his. excellent qualities, but admits a mixture of fear and human infirmities: Mr. Phillips not only aggravates those infirmities, but falsely charges him with what he was not guilty, and admits of no good qualities, but is so angry with Bishop Burnet for thinking well of him (though thinking too well of another is furely the more pardonable extreme) that he first misquotes the Bishop, and makes him say, that those who compared ancient and modern times out Cranmer on a level with the greatest of the primitive Fathers: whereas he only fays, compared. him to them; which they might do, though he were confiderably inferior. Then he doubts ' whether there really were any fuch persons;' and ' declares

Pref. p. vii.

clares it to be the highest infult on the some and thest rals of his Readers to suppose them susceptible of fo gross an imposition: and not content with this. concludes in the following words; as for the Bi-" shop himself; he must have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating cup, with which the lying Prefighers are drenched to give out fuch abfurdities, and expect they should be credited. Now Lines are fome of the worse of men, lying Prophets the worst of Liars, and fuch of them; as have drank to the dregs of their intoxicating cup, must be the work of lying Prophets. Yet this is the character, which he has had the conscience and the modesty to give Bishop Burnet, without convicting him of a fingle known fallhood, and after being forced to own feveral times his very candid regard to truth. then of the two has drank deepest of the intoxicating cup, let every one judge. He confesse, however, in the same page, that our Writers who agree in the Facts he hath related (which they do not) have yet bestowed every' commendation on Granner. And he instances in high praises given him by Mr. Hume, who is not commonly thought in the World to be a man either deprived of his reason, or bigotted to the Reformation. But to his, and the like Eulogies, he opposes ' the founder few, who have had too just a regard to that decency which every one owes to himself, to fall into fuch extravagancies.' And here he singles out the celebrated Mr. Prynne, as he calls him, who, he fays, in a Book, intitled, the Antipathy of Prelacy and Monarchy, accuses Cranmer in nine Articles, of perjury and cruelty, of all the calamities of Henry VIIIth's

VIIIth's reign, and of subverting the Church; and represents him as an hypocrite, an apostate, and rebel.' Now the truth is, that in this book, which I charitably prefume Mr. Phillips, though he quotes it so boldly, never saw, Prymne, though a virulent railer at Bishops in general, does not accuse Cranmer so heavily. After saying, that he was charged by Martyn, a Papist, with perjury, for swearing to the Pope's Supremacy, and that he answered the charge? and that he repented of the recantation which he had made out of fear and human fraility, he goes on thus; ' And here, not to detract any thing from 4 the due praise of our Glorious Martyr, give me leave only to observe, I. That he had a hand in the condemnation and execution of some godly Mar-4 tyrs, before he was thoroughly instructed in the points of our Religion: 2. That he was the chief man in accomplishing the Divorce of Henry VIII. which occasioned much trouble, dissension, and war? and was a furtherer of the King's subsequent 'lustful, if lawful, marriages: 3- That the Line colnsbire Rebels complain to Henry VIIIth against him and other Prelates, that they have subverted the Faith of Christ: 4. That the Bishops of that age labored underhand to support the Pope's Supremacy: 5. That the bloody Statute, called the fix Articles, was made in his time; and that fome feem to imply that he gave confent thereto: 6-That he is the only Martyr of all the Archbishops of Canterbury, none dying in defence of the Gofe pel but he; whence Parker, his Successor, writes thus, Cranmerus fide integrâ, non pontificia cenfura,

7 P. 158, Note.

fura, in libro vitæ scriptus cælestem hæreditatent cum christo consecutus est. Ut, si in hominibus gloriari fas effet, non ab Augustino, Dunstano, Elphego, Anselmo, Thoma Becket, Edmundo, et reliquâ pontificià turbà, fed ab hoc uno, qui solus in Christi causa, contra Antichristum sammarum incredibili dolore ad cælos sublatus est. Cantuarien is sedes nobilitata esse videatur : 7. That he suffered Martyrdom after his degradation, not whilft he was a Bishop: 8. That he failed more in his Martyrdom by his cowardly recantation, than any of his fellow Martyrs: 9. That whilst he was Archbishop he was condemned for High Treason, for which he professed his repentance; and was a very importunate Suitor to King Edward to tolerate the use of the Mass in his Sister Mary's Pamily. These Mr. Phillips accounts nine Articles, which Prynne lays to the charge of Cranmer, and fays, Dr. Fuller is at a loss how to reply to any of them, and gives up most of them; faying, he will leave him, where he is guilty, to fink or fwim by himfelf." Now the 3d, 4th, 5th and 7th make nothing against him: The 6th was intended in his praise; and Mr. Phillips must think him praise-worthy for the latter part of the 9th likewife; for the Ist charge, which Fuller calls the 2d, he attempts to, make ho other excuse than that in many things we all offend: to the 2d he answers justly, that the Divorce produced much Good, as well as Evil, and is defended by Protestant Writers: The 8th and first part of the 9th, he alleviates in the usual manner. Mr. Prynne, whom this Popish Priest extols as one of the founder Few, was a professed enemy to Episconacy;

copacy; and in his rage against the Order, forefeeing he should be urged with the amiable character of Cranmer, he gathers what he can against him; levelling at the Order rather than at the Person: therefore his fixth Article finds a place, though it be highly to the honor of Cranmer: his argument standing thus, Bishops in general have been bad men.-It is replied, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, died for his Religion,-It is true, Cranmer did; but he was the only Archbishop of Canterbury that did lo. And now I give Mr. Phillips joy of the evidence of the celebrated Mr. Prvnne, and of his own honest representation of Dr. Fuller's defence of Eranmer. I would observe further, that the same found Mr. Prynne, in the same Book, calls Pole a netorious Traysor; and fets forth his ingratitude and perfidiquiness at large, chiefly in the words of Tonftal and Stokefly, Popish Bishops of Durham and Lone. den, and the Cardinal's cotemporaries. Pryme any where in that Book may be inferred to have represented Cranmar as a Hypocrite, an Apostate, and Rebel, he calls him in another book (his Antiarminianism) that worthy Archbishop Cranmers p. 128. Our religions Martyr Archbishop Cranmer. b. sq. and fays, ' the Reformation was watered with the fruitful showers of our bleffed Martyr's blood. in the fire and faggot regimen of Queen Mas fre, through the malice and cruelty of bloodfucking, foul-starving, non-preaching Prelates. pe 926. So that in the judgment of this one of the foundar few, who is just to the decency every one owes bimself, Cranmer was a worthy, religious, blossed Hypocrite, Apostate, and Rebel. And when Prynne's judgment was soundest, not distracted by contradic-Y 2 tions,

tions, he charges the Papists with malice and cruelty, and the Discipline of Queen Mary's Church with having been a fire and faggot regimen; from which Good Lord, deliver us!

This fire and faggot regimen, Mr. 5. 28. The Phillips, though he fometimes apburning of Propears to disapprove it, cannot find in testants. his heart to condemn planely as inhuman and unchristian, and therefore, we may presume, has no objection to fee re-established on a proper occasion; accordingly he takes great pains to lessen the number of those who underwent it, and to defend or excuse the practice of it upon them. to the numbers, he tells us, Fox reckons 270 perfons who underwent the like punishment; but that Father Parsons, who very accurately examined the account, has shewn that great abatements are to be made in it 2. Fox, who was much hated by the Papifts for exposing their Lies and Cruelties, as is observed by Mr. Lewis in his Life of Wicliff. has too much merit to escape the persecuting lash of our Biographer. His faithfulness in quoting the Records that he searched, Mr. Phillips himself denies not; and as to private stories, ' he and his friends " used the utmost diligence and care that no falshood might be obtruded on the Reader, and were very ready to correct any mistake that might happen. His experienced fidelity in the first case gives us fair grounds to presume he intended to be so in the other: the first could not be denied, without being confuted

P. 159. Pref. xiv. Strype's Hist. of the Reform. p. 242.

confuted by the Records; but in the latter case, charges against him may be advanced with less fear of a detection. As to the number of those who fuffered, Parsons, whose credit Phillips and Quirini have invalidated x, ascertains it not, though he says it was less than Fox reports: but Mr. Strype as accurate and more faithful than Parfons, who collects the total from the particular numbers of each year in which they fuffered, and at the places of their Martyrdom, increases the whole to 288, besides those that died of famine in fundry prisons." A great number of these unhappy persons, says Phillips, fuffered in the Diocese of London, of which Boner was Bishop, who is represented as the chief Incendiary of that flame; and London being the capital, was likewise the theatre, where the De-Inquents were chiefly to make their appearance. Great moderation, fays he, was used in other aparts of the Kingdom: not one was put to death in the Diocese of Canterbury after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that See.2' If most suffered in the Diocese of London, because, being the Capital, most Delinquents were found in it, the moderation he speaks of in other parts, was probably because there were but few Delinquents; the severity bearing proportion to the objects: and as to the Diocese of Canterbury, though the capital was not in it, and it contained but half a County, whereas London, befide the Capital, comprehends two whole Counties and great part of a third, the number of Sufferers in Pole's district exceded that of any other Diocefe

<sup>\*</sup> Phillips, part 1, p. y Mem. vol. iii. Origi. n.1., numb. lxxxv. 2 P. 159.

cefe except London: but, fays the Biographer, f ner one was put to death in that Diocese, after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that See.' Strange! when the Biographer himself bears witness, but & few pages after, that a Commission was issued out by him, on occasion of several pernicious doctrines that were taught and propagated in the Diocese of Canterbury; the Commissioners were required to inform themselves of the fact, and have it testified by oath, in the manner the Law directs in fuch cases, which is favorable to the Criminal. They were to use their best endeavours to reclaim such persons; but if they remain obstinate, they are to be excommunicated; and if the atrociousness of the crime requires it, delivered up to the Civil Magistrates In consequence of which Commission, he informs their Majesties of some who had been convicted, and leaves them to be punished as they deserve. This was certainly in the Diocese of Conterbury, and after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that See. And was not one of these put to death? there are no less than five mentioned in the Significavit to their Majes. ties, of which every one was burnt, but feven days before the Cardinal's death. And in the preceding year, throughout the whole of which he was Arch, bishop, there were six and twenty burnt in the populous Diocese of London, and in the small Diocese of Canterbury no less than twenty four b. If no regard to Truth or Justice finds a place in this prostituted conscience, yet prudence not to hurt his cause by so barefaced a false testimony should have restrain-Judge, candid Reader, of Pole's Tendered him. ness.

<sup>§</sup> P. 165. Bee Strype as above, p. 454.

ness, and Phillips's Veracity. A willingness to do justice to every man, inclines me not to conceal one good action of the Legate's, which his Encomiast has omitted. I mean his resouring twenty two from the flames, to which Boner would have fentenced them. But when we consider that all the Commissions were issued from him as Legate, and that therefore he put the torch into Bener's hand, with which he set fire to so many Martyrs, and that he raged himfelf so violently in his own Diocese, we must look on the deliverance of these twenty two, as a censure on Boner's severity in that particular instance, though he allowed it in the rest; perhaps as a popular device to appear more just than Boner, (for they figned a submission,) although he was not inclined to be more merciful to Hereticks. Indeed his own severities, remarkable in his last year, are ascribed to a terror he was under of the censure of Cardinal Caraffa, whom the Pope threatned to fend into England, to examine the Legate's conduct '.

The unhappy sufferers were tried and condemned, fays Phillips, on the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. and V. To the first of these, the Commons deny they had ever given their assent, and therefore it was no Act\*. And for the second, which was a Henry IV. it was asked by the Clergy, and granted by the King de consensu Magnatum & aliorum Procerum, without any mention of the Commons; but,

Parker's Life of Reg. Pole.

Il ne fust unque assentu ne grante par les coet, mes ce que sust parle de ce sust-sanz assent de lour que ce lui estatut soit annienti. Rot. Parl. octav. S. Michel. 6 Rich. ii. n. 52.

as Strype relates from Fox, the Clergy afterwards corrupted the Rolls, and foisted in the Commons to make it a Law of the Land . It is certain the Commons petitioned against it nine years after, and call it a Statute made at the request of the Prelates and Clergy to The procedings of the Clergy perhaps at Common Law were better justified than those of the Sheriffs and Civil Magistrates by those Statutes. The first adjudged Heretick that was burnt in England is supposed to have been one of the Albigenses in the year 1210. In the primitive times, the Church affembled together to judge of any disputed point; and having determined an opinion to be erroneous, they excluded from their fociety the obstinate maintainers of it: More indeed they could not do, because the Civil Sword was not in their hands. When the Emperour became Christian, his Empire at that time comprehending the whole Church, he granted privileges to fuch of his Subjects as were Christians: if these held contrary opinions disobediently, they, as Hereticks and Schismaticks, were deprived of those privileges, Anno Dom. 326 1. But this conformity was expected only in Effentials, and they confined to the ground work of Christianity, one God in Trinity, A. D. 380 S. And for the more affured

## d Mem. vol. 3. p. 458.

† Hanticos atque schismaticos his privilegiis alienos. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. De Hæret. leg.

§ Ibid. De fide Cathol, leg. z.

<sup>†</sup> Qe please a nostre soveraigne Seigneur le Roy grantier, qu' si ascun soit ou serra arreste par sorce de l'estatute fait l'an de vostre regne seconde, al requeste des Prelats & Clergie de vostre Royalme d'Engleterre. Rot. Parl. 11 Henr. IV. n. 29.

affured interpretation of that Doctrine, agreement with the then Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Laodicea, Tarfus, Antioch and some others, was a sufficient proof of orthodoxy; diffentients from them were to be removed out of the Church as manifest Hereticks . The piety of the Bishops of Rome, the eminence of that City above all others in the Christian World, and the priority of order given by Canon to that See, by degrees made Communion with it the test of orthodoxy. During this progress to as low as A. D. 800, the spiritual Judge determined what was Herefie, and the Temporal enquired whether the person accused was guilty or not; and also appointed the punishment, which they thought proper to inflict, to prevent the tumult and sedition that often grew upon such heterodoxy. Priscillian, the first who lost his life for herefy, was beheaded by the Civil Magistrate, 392: the more orthodox Bishops were averse to this severity, and refused to communicate with those equally seditious Bishops who promoted it. About the year 1000, burning was introduced in many countries, but not into England till after Pope Innocent III. had erected the new Court of Inquisition; then one of the Albigenses gave the first instance, A. D. 1210; from which time it was the ordinary punishment in this Country for Heresy; but the whole 343 years which passed from that period to the death of Edward VI. will not furnish so many executions as difgraced the five years only of the bloody reign of Queen Mary. But two years of her reign, says this Writer, had passed without

<sup>||</sup> Omnes autem qui ab eorum quos commemoratio specialis expressit side communionis diffentiunt, ut manifestos hæreticos ab ecclesia expelli. Ibid. leg. 6.

any thing which had the air of perfecution on ac. count of Religion. And the reason is plane. though he does not chuse to mention it; the people much disquieted at the Spanish Match, and averse from admitting again the Pope's Supremacy, and uneasy about the Church Lands, were not to be provoked and irritated by cruel and horrid executions: these points were not settled till the second year of her reign; but immediately on Pole's arrival, and the adjusting those difficulties, when but half of her fecond year was expired, and in two months after the gentle Pole was received, Commissions were isfued from him as Legate to try Hereticks; and two Bishops with several of the Clergy and others were burned. This was in her second year: and even in her first, many Bishops and the Clergy in general were deprived of their Bishopricks and Preferments for Religious opinions only; nay, Crammer, Ridley, and Latimer were tried and condemned for Herefy in her first year, without warrant of Law, by Commissions from the Queen and the Lord Chancellor. And whereas he endeavours to shift the charge from their Religion to their Sedition and opposing her Title, the treatment of the Suffalk men, of Judge Hales, and of Rishop Hoper, who were zealous and active for her Right of Succession, abundantly confutes this false testimony. Among a few instances of extravagancies of fome Individuals, not countenanced by any persons of consequence, he reckons her Preacher being shot at in the Pulpit at St. Paul's : had it not become an honest witness to tell us, that he was rescued from the resentment, which his indiscrete

difference zeal raifed, by Bradferd and another Reformer, at hazard of their own lives? and afterwards one of them had this charitable act urged against him in proof of his being an accomplice, and reseived their thanks by a sentence to the fire. fide the fufferings of the Protestants, and the tyranny of Papal power, other injuries were received and referred by the English, from the pride of the Spaniards and the Queen's partiality in their favor. which occasioned many Conspiracies and Insurrections; but the cause and the Persons were totally And nothing but a pen hackneved in scandal could assign the offences of the latter, as the cause of the sufferings of the former. Was the design of robbing the Exchequer a Protestant plot ? Angry men of no religion, to gain the Protestants, might profess themselves of their opinion, but the convicted, and their Accusers too, were all hanged as Rebels and not burned as Hereticks. Was not the Infurrection in the North, and the seizure of Scarborough Castle a Conspiracy encouraged by the French in refentment against the Spaniard for warring against the Pope? and it was punished by the Queen, with a rigor seldom known, for out of thirty-five persons convicted, but two escaped hanging. Which with her more than twenty gibbets in the streets of London for the execution of those concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, shew her Political resentments to be as cruel as her Religious zeal. The Queen's Title was never questioned, by any Protestants, after the death of the Lady Jane; and it was no article against the Martyrs, that they had attempted to difturb the publick tranquillity. Some weak-brained and enthusiastick Protestants were guilty of some unjustifiable

justifiable insults; but it was hard that the sober Protestants should be brought to a reckoning, and forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men. which it was not in their powers to hinder. equally unjust that they should at this time be reproached with crimes, of which they were not guiltv. The Supplication of the unfeigned Favorers of the Gospel in Norfolk and Suffolk against the Commissions for Hereticks, and seizing the lands, tenements and goods of fuch as fled, acknowledges the Regal power and authority to stand whole and e perfectly in her Grace,' and that ' their bodies, goods, lands and lives were ready to do her Grace faithful, obedient and true service, in all commandments, that were not against God and his Word. But the gentle Pole had erected his Court of Inquisition in England, and the gentle Marry took care to keep the Kingdom in a blaze. Yet this Biographer treats the horrors of this reign as trifles, which none but old women can feel, and children can be scared with; they are no more, forfooth, than the dismal ditties of the Nursery; or as Pole, with like infensibility, calls them, ' a multitude of brambles and briars cast into the fire. Did they not proclaim it of themselves, one could hardly imagine there could be in the World, Beings, who call themselves men, so entirely divested of humanity. Our Writer is not ashamed to boast of the moderation in that reign, and to quote Heylin in proof of it; Heylin indeed compares four Dioceses to the land of Gospen, where the people of God enjoyed light, but the comparifon

f Heylin's Hist. Ref. 2d edit. fol. P. II, pag. 47. Strype's Mem. 4th edit. vol. 3, p. 342.

parison implies a terrible darkness over the rest of the Kingdom. I beg leave to refer this Writer back again to Heylin, and to read there a description of that moderation which he feems fo delighted with, especially in the Legate's Diocese, . Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Thornton, the Suffragan of Dover, are faid to have poured out blood like water.h' And beside those that suffered martyrdom in the fight of the world, many are thought to have been made away in prison: but many more, to the number of some scores or hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starying, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their feveral Jails. To which if we should add a catablogue of all those who fled the Kingdom, and put themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to the number of 800 or thereabout, I suppose it may be well concluded, that though many persecutions may have lasted longer (though this lasted within a week of the deaths of Queen Mary and her Archbishop Pole) yet none since Dioclesian's time 's ever raged fo horribly." Such was the moderation of this reign on Dr. Heylin's testimony. These cruel acts of Mary, Mr. Phillips ascribes (not much to her honor) to her fondness for a husband twelve years vounger than herself k: but Philip, though a monster of cruelty, fet his Friars to preach against the thirst for blood fo notorious in this reign; which this Writer would infinuate was less than in that of her Successor's, Queen Elisabeth's, by pretending that he will not retaliate, but chuse to cover heats; yet he ' boldly

h Hist. Reform. part 2, p. 56.

1 Ibid, p. 57.
P. 166.

boldly affirms that the made actions of mere religious import, treason and felony, and punished those who e performed them accordingly. Nineteen years of her reign passed before one Popish Priest suffered. and that not till fix years after the Pope half diffcharged her Subjects of their allegiance to her; and the Priests were detected in seditions practices, Then, in her thirteenth year, she found it high time to prevent the execution of Papal Bulls and Instruments, which were sent over to deprive her of her Kingdoms; by making it High Treason; and in her twenty seventh year, having escaped many attempts on her life by Emissaries sent from the Pope for that purpose, she judged it reasonable to keep at a distance strangers, whose errand here she had so little reason to like, by making it Treason for Jefuits. Priests, or other Ecclesiastical persons of the Church of Rome, to come into, or remain in her Kingdoms. I am forry to find this Writer thinks dethroning and murdering Princes are actions of mere religious import. The différence of the two reigns was, that under the Popish Mary peaceable Protestants were burnt for Herefy; under the Protestant Elisabeth rebellious Papists were hanged for treason. Yet this Writer has the affurance to infinuate, that the latter was as great a religious Perfecutor as the former; but that he chules to cover heats. not foreast and perpetuate them. His practices shew in what manner he chuses to cover heats;—so as to cherish them in secret till they shall be strong enough to lend a brand to light the Smithfield fires again; who trusts to such covering of heats,

incedir

## incedit per ignes Suppositos cineri dolosos.

The Biographer procedes to exculpate Popery by charging all that effusion of blood on the genius of the English, and not on that of his corrupt Church. these statutes are Laws of the English Realm, not Canons of the Catholick Church and make no part either of her Faith or Difcie pline." It is fomething strange, and fomething suconfistent, that humanity and all that milder vierit of the heart, which he fays in his Preface". deservedly attributed to the English, should incline them to enact fuch bloody laws, as Papifts' affect to blush at. But to do justice to my Country against this slanderer of her humanity, I must tellhim, that the English nation was the last to admit this cruel punishment, When Pope Alexander III. in 1162, had forbidden any one to receive, deal with: or entertain Hereticks, and, that in consequence; thirty Dutch-men were starved to death in England in 1166, afterwards, the same King, Henry II. would not execute this fevere Church Law, nor what was elsewhere used, burning\*. And the Statutes referred to were petitioned for by the Clergy, and objected against by the Commons: so that it was the cruel spirit of Popery that prevaled over the natural humanity of the English in those statutes. But the Catholick Church, he fays, is so far from adjudge · ing

## <sup>a</sup> P. 166. <sup>a</sup> P. xii.

Publicani, comburebantur in pluribus locis per regnum Franciæ, quod Rex Augliæ nullo modo permifit in terra sua, licet ibi essent perplurimi. Hoveden anno #182.

ing Hereticks to corporal punishment, much less to death, that all her criminal procedings against fuch as are accused of herefy cease when the Cause is cleared up, and her punishments extend no further than the spiritual state of the offender. fhall exemplify this, fays he, in as folemn an in-\* stance of the Church's Jurisdiction as the case admits; and exerted by a Pope as jealous of his prerogative as ever filled the Pontifical throne? this was Paul IV. who in his Decree of Cran-" mer's condemnation, which is directed to Philip and Mary, only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the secular Court, as the Law directs, without the least infinuation of any bodily pu-'nishment. The same sentence, in similar cases, is so universally understood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the Delinquent, that the Bifhop, or whoever delivers him to the Civil Magistrate. always concludes the procedings of the Spiritual Court in this manner; We beseech you with all eare nestness, that for the love of Almighty God, and on the motive of compassion, and because we ask it of you, that you will not condemn this miserable person to death, for the loss of his limbs." This reminds me of a ridiculous instance of pity, which I once faw: s tender hearted lady who had scarce a less aversion to a toad, than a good Catholick has to an Heretick, detected one within her own doors; she runs for the tongs, commits the unhappy delinquent to its iron gripe, carries him out of doors, and being too compassionate to put him to death herself, delivers him from

from her tongs to a cart rote, and claps a brick-batover him for fafer durance, till the next waggon massing by should be her executioner and crush the poor thing to pieces. Her felf-complacence on this act of tenderness was ridiculous enough: but it had anneared worse than ridiculous, had she waited till the waggoner came near, and then begged him for God's fake not to destroy one of his creatures, but ablige her fo far as to turn a little out of the way; and when thinking her in earnest, he had done so, if the should prosecute him for driving over her pavement and breaking the stones of it, what should we then think of the lady's gentle disposition, and sweettiefs of temper? Such is the boast of tenderness with which Mr. Phillips exults in behalf of his compeffionare Church. The very statutes, to which he would thift off from the Church the cruelty of the execution, were obtained at the entreaty of their bloody Clergy; and the confent, which the Commone denied, was fraudulently inserted by the Churchmen?, to give them efficacy of Laws. if the Civil Magistrate, moved by an undissembled pity, should yield to their solemn deprecations of loss of life and limb; and endeavour to fave the Convict. for even venture to delay the execution but fix days, it is the constant tent of the Canonifts, relying on a Bull of Alexander IV. A. D. 1260, that he may be compelled to it by spiritual censures, excommunication, deprivation, and loss of authority and office. Can this extraordinary Biographer believe that we cannot see, because he winks hard; or, that the expelty of his Church can be covered or extenuated  $\mathbf{z}$ Ď₹

\* Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 459.

by the addition of so solemn a piece of Hypocrify. and the profane mockery of taking God's name in vain, to deprecate a fentence which they will not permit the Civil Magistrate to leave unexecuted? so that Mr. Phillips is guilty of a gross misrepresentation in saying, the Laws of England, at the time I am fpeaking of, punished herefy with death, but the Church is not accountable for Laws which the did onot establish, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs.9' The common Law of England might be for but that was cuftom which began and grew up from the Bulls of Popes; and the statutes he, refers to had not the approbation of the Commons. as the Commons themselves declare, and therefore Arichly were not of force; but whatever force they had, or by whatever means acquired, the Church certainly was accountable for Laws to which the not only gave her affent, but even perfuaded and folicited that they should pass (if she did no more); nor did she leave their execution to whom it belongs, but compelled the Civil Magistrate by spiritual censures to execute those Laws which their influence obtained.

After this killing and taking pos
5. 29. The selfion by the Cardinal, there are but few events that deserve our notice before his death. The letter of thanks, which Mr. Phillips mentions as sent to the University of Oxford on their chusing him to be their Chancellor, is evidently mistaken; the internal marks shew that it was his Letter sent to Cambridge on the like occasion. This indeed affects not either the life, of Pole,

or Mr. Phillips's general defign; but it is a reflection on the accuracy of the Compiler who can transmit fuch obvious mistakes, in a History which pretends to so much precision and exactness. Quirini indeed. whom he too implicitly follows, inscribes the Letter. To the College at Oxford, (Collegio Oxoniensi;') but the contents evidently shew that it was addressed To the University of Cambridge: for they, who chose him, mention Filter and Gardiner as having been at the head of their University; whereupon the Legate reminds them, how much their thanks were due to God, whose singular favor had given them such Guides and Patrons; and then mentions their choice of him, to succede in their places. Now, Mr. Phillips must know, though Quirini might not, that Fifter and Gardiner were both Chancellors of Cambridge and not of Oxford: besides, his Letter dated 1 April 1536, was seven months before he was chosen Chancellor of Oxford.

However, Chancellor of Oxford he was; and, as Mr. Phillips informs us, took care to have the statutes revised, and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged necessary for the better regulation of the University. On this account several candid Protestant Writers have acknowledged this seat of Learning to have sourished more in his time, than either under

## ≠ Vol. v. p. 89.

In primis Deo gratize à vobis sunt agendze, cujus hoc suit singulare beneficium, quod tales vobis duces et patronos dederit. Quod verò ut in corum locum apud vos succedam, magnopere rogatis. Quirini, vol. v. p. 89.

under Edward or Elifabeth. Doubtless, that revision of the flatutes must have been excellent, that could effect so much in so little time; for he was Chancellor of Oxford only two years and two weeks.—But candid Protestant Writers acknowledge it-Who ?-Who Archbishop Laud.—Where !—In a passage in thase statutes revised and published by him. - The passage referred to is not in those statutes, but in the Preface to them: which Preface the Archbishop says be did not write: and we know it was written by Dr. Peter Turner, a Phylician t. So these candid Protestant Writers are reduced to one; not Archbishop Laud, as he says, but Dr. Turner; and the place referred to, not is the statutes, as he says, but in the Preface. Now let us examine the evidence: It is called in to prove that Chancellor Pole took care to have the statutes of the University of Oxford revised, and that where he found any thing deficient he applied a remedy. and on this account, that feat of Learning flourished more in his time, than either under Edward and Elisabeth. The passage witnesses that a revision of the statutes had been made in Edward VIth's time, and again undertaken in Queen Mary's under the direction of Pole, which was on as narrow a plan as the former: but that in the mean time (which equally refers to Edward's reign as well as to Mary's) the Univerversity flourished—not by Role's amendment of the statutes, but because an ingenuous candor supplied the defect of statutes, and what was wanting in the Laws was made up by the marmers. And as this flourishing estate of Oxford is equally ascribed to the neign of Edward and of Mary, by the word interim

P. 172. t Lives of Gresham Profesiors, p. 132.

or in the mean time, which Mr. Phillips did not chuse to translate, so, Archbishop Laud says, it was intended to take in also the reigns of Elisabeth and Fames I. and was meant, 'as much in relation to the times of Princes following, as her's (Queen Mary's) for that interim cannot be restrained to Queen Mary's days only, but must include the whole interim or middle distance of time to that present, in which I settled the body of the statutes, 6 that is, all Queen Elisabeth's and King James's davs." Which leaves above thirty years to experience how much those statutes needed reformation. after that ingenuous candor had ceased to supply their defects. So that to prove the excellence of Pole's revision of the statutes of Oxford, he produces an Evidence that witnesses its defects; to prove the University flourished by the means of Pole's correcting those statutes, his Evidence tells us, it flourished not by virtue of his statutes or those of his Predecessor. but by an ingenuous candor which supplied their defects; and to prove that Oxford flourished more under Mary's reign than it did either under Edward or Elisabeth, his Evidence declares that the flourishing estate of that University equally relates to the reigns of Edward, Mary, Elifabeth, and James. were the points to be proved; such the evidence to fupport them !

The chief part of his eleventh fection is taken up with the Legate's behaviour under the treatment he received from Paul IV. From which we learn, that the Pope was morose, fierce, imperious, revengeful, implacable; no very encouraging character

Laud's Trial, p. 384.

racter to seduce the English Reader to bend his willing neck under the yoke of fuch a tyrant. Caraffa, it is true, is dead; but it would be a ridiculous curiofity to make an experiment whether the Conclave, in fuccessive elections, could find us out another as bad as he. Nay, it might be difficult perhaps to chuse a better; for he tells us, this very Caraffa, onot only excelled in facred literature, but ever (that is before he became Pope) preserved a reputation clear from the least suspicion of vice w; but a conduct subject to no controul, whose very vices are not only excused but sanctified, and the iniquitous intrigues necessary to maintain that usurped dominion, are extraordinary temptations, to which the ordinary fuccours of grace are feldom a fufficient balance: a view of which made this Pope's Predeceffor tremble at the giddy heighth to which he was exalted, and wonder how a Pope could be faved. If there be any latent vice in the disposition, the warm fun-shine of Papal power will be fure to call it out; and how blameless a Prelate soever the Archbishop of Theatea might have been, Paul IV. was a detestable Pope.

As to the Legate's behaviour on the occasion, it was, as it always had been, vain, timid, and irrefolute. No sooner had the Pope engaged France in a War with Philip, and thereby involved England in the quarrel, but the Legate must needs try again his unfortunate talents at negotiating, in an attempt, by his rhetorick, to distuade his Holiness from his hostile dispositions. This address, although it was written (in the opinion of his Biographer) with the wisdom

F P. 197, Notes

yet, with the like ill fate which attended all his other attempts on similar occasions, it disgusted more than persuaded: and the Pope, as Henry VIII. the English Parliament, the Emperour, and French King had done before, looked on his officious scribling zeal; as a troublesome censure of his past conduct, and considered his advice as a breach of duty rather than a

proof of it .

Nor did the intimacy in which he had lived with the Pope formerly, or his cruel commissions against Hereticks in England at this time, satisfy that Pontiff, or erafe the suspicions of heterodoxy which he imagined he had grounds to entertain against the Legate. Mr. Phillips is willing to suppose that this suspicion was increased by his lenity in screening the persons of those who had left the Church, as he calls that corrupt part of it to which he schismatically joins himfelf: but Pole was taking very zealous steps to wipe off the suspicions he had raised before, by a vigorous persecution of the Protestants, within fix weeks after he had entered the Kingdom. If the Pope knew he was a favorer of some of their tenets, his fear of encouraging further fuspicions, may account for those cruel executions through the Kingdom, for all were by Commission from him, and all subject to his controul: but then it betrays the timid spirit of the man, and his want of constancy to profess that truth of which he was convinced. The fagacious Pontiff looked on his conduct, not as a proof of his orthodoxy, in the Roman opinion, but as a Coward's cover to screen himself from danger. He deprived Z 4

. P. 180. 7 P. 183. 184.

him of his Legatine Commission, substituted anorther, recalled him to Rome to answer for himself; refused his friend Priuli the Bishoprick of Bresia from the like suspicions, and threw Cardinal Morrone his most intimate acquaintance into prion for the same reason.

This fet him again on writing to the Pope, in defence of himself and his friends: in which Letter he claims to be credited on advancing a notorious falshood, saving, that ' he never suffered any one cas lamity, of the many which had fallon to his flace of which the Hereticks were not the Authors.29 Did he not complain of injurious treatment from the Emperour, and the French King in his Embessies to them! Were they Hereticks! Did he not complain of the Emperour again, of Philip and Mary, and Gardiner for keeping him so long out of England, when fent hither as the Pope's Legate? if he never suffered any one calamity of which the Hereticks were not the Authors, either those injuries of which he so loudly complained were no calamities, or we must believe the Pope's charge against him, for none but a Protestant would call those Hereticks. Nay, being deprived of the Legatine Honor, and charged before the Inquisition for herefy, was no calamity, or the Pope, who was the Author of both, was an Heretick in Pole's account; who compares himfelf to Isaac, and the Pope to Abraham, with the fire and the sword in his hand to slay his son; and then with a personated piety and magnanimity cries out, \* may God accept the facrifice ; but in the fame breath tells him, he has no apprehension of dying for all that 1

₹ P. 193. P. 195.

that: ' yet still I trust, he will no more permit you to procede, than he did the Patriarch to kill his Son.4' He says indeed, when he received the Carf dinalate, as he lay proftrate before the altar, he told the Pope, he delivered himself as a victim to him. "? But he adds here, ' that he little imagined he should be put to this trial; especially as, he hoped the Bifhop of Rochester had been substituted in his place. as the ram was in that of Haac.2' And indeed, whenever he blufters about his being ready to die. he constantly betrays his timidity by the care he takes to prevent his dying without metaphor. As we fee at this very time in a Letter to Cardinal Trani. which accompanied the above to the Pope; in which he defires it may be represented to Paul, that if he deprives him (Pole) of his Legatine jurisdiction, and gites him to answer in the Inquisition at Rome, affairs are in such a criss in England, that the Popewill be in danger of losing his Supremacy there: the fame was also intimated to him by the Queen. And Strape tells us, that there were, on that occasion, certain Questions put to some of the learned Lawyers of this realm, touching the Pope's jurisdiction in England. Which, together with their Answers, are fill extant in the Paper House. This, says he, was like to prove somewhat dangerous to the Pope, had he not defisted b. The Legate added another threat to intimidate his Holiness, which was, that he might possibly write an Apology, ' left his filence should be brought an Evidence against him: but whether he was to purfue this method or not, depended wholly

wholly on the Pope. But perhaps, if his first threat had not been more awakening than his lecond, the Pope had not dissembled his suspicions, nor permitted him to continue his Legate à latere.

This Apology or Libel the Legate had actually prepared: but, says the Writer of his life, perceiving it would be unfavorable to the Pope's reputation. he threw it into the fire; repeting these words of Deuteronomy, non revelabis verenda patris tui. Pole did not mention Deuteronomy, nor refer to it, nor are the words to be found there; but he refers to the flagitious action of Cham, who mocked at, and exposed his Father as he lay drunk and naked in his Tent. And as the curse of Cham for exposing his natural Father did not restrain Pole with regard to his political Father, Henry VIII. we cannot, confiftently, Suppose it to have prevented his sending this Invective to his spiritual Father, the Pope. But oftentation and a folemn hypocrify always led Pole to give a religious varnish to whatever he did. It is probable, he sometimes deceived himself, as well as others; but in this case his Biographer has given us a sufficient reason for burning his angry Letter, in telling us, from one of his Historians, that the Pope put off the final decision of the cause; and Pole, fond as he was of writing Apologies, did not think it prudent to exasperate his Holiness again by a needless provocation.

If we wanted more instances of Pole's sluctuating genius, or of Mr. Phillips's misrepresentations as an Historian, we have an example of each in the last act recorded in this life of the Cardinal, the Letter's written by him, as this Biographer relates, to the Queen, sometime before his death. Sometime before his

e P. 203.

death should seem to intimate more than two or three days, which was the fact: but indeed he dates the Letter, Oct. 4, and defers his death to Dec. 17. The latter mistake he has corrected in the errata, and the date of the Letter should be fix weeks later. Must both these mistakes be ascribed to his private press at Oxford? or is there not something of defign that his false account may appear to hang the better together. The true date of this Letter was 14 Nov. but two days before the Queen died; of whose declining state the Legate had frequent intelligence during his illness: The purpose of the Letter and Message was to excuse himself to the person to whom it was addressed, and satisfy her of his behaviour; this was to be done by the Dean of Worceller. Sure there was no occasion for him to write to the dying Queen on this occasion, whose chief favorite and Counsellor he had always been; nor do we hear of any mifunderstanding between them, much less one of such importance as to need an explanation at her last gasp, and to send an Orator to waste her precious moments by a long detail just as the was dying: but his behaviour to her Grace, the Princess Elizabeth, who had been imprisoned, illtreated, and more than once in danger of the axe. from the malice of the Administration, of which he was confidered as chief, might need an Apology: especially, if he should happen to survive the Queen, whose death was hourly expected; this might appear necessary to secure Elizabeth's future favor to him so long as he might live, and to bespeak some toleration at least for the Church then established. The Princess was at leisure to hear from his chaplain the elucidation of his conduct, and his powerful

hat motives in behalf of his Church, which were too long for the fick Legate to commit to writing. Accordingly, Collier would have informed our Biographer that this Letter was written to the Princess Elifabeth, two days before the Queen died, and only three before the Cardinal's own death, which happened, fays Mr. Phillips, two and twenty hours after that of the Queen. Thus at a time when as he himself justly observes, he ought to have cast aside all cares of this world, and transferred his thoughts on that, into which he was going to enter, his timid foirit was anxious to shelter his trembling remains of life from the resentment of the injured Princes: and from his darling, catholick, dying Mary, turns his addresses, his Court, and his prayers to the seared, Protestant, rising Elisabeth. Ashamed of which meanness and servility, his Biographer thinks it more honorable to represent this Letter as a needless Apology to the Queen. The Death of the Cardinal is mentioned to recommend the Popish Sacrament of Extreme Unction; by which, fays our Biographer, we are strengthened to withstand the last assault of our spiritual Enemies, to bear up against the weakness of nature, and die the death of the Righteous.4' This I acknowledge is no unfair representation of Extreme Unction, according to the Council of Trent. But we ask, where is the Diwine Promise that such effects shall attend this Rite? The Council of Trent says, It is infinuated by St. Marke, and published by St. James . Both speak of the miraculous Gift of Healing the Sick; he who had the Gift, being full of the Holy Ghost, knew when

P. 214. ch. vi. 13. f v. 15.

when his prayer would be successful, the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick, and the Lord shall restore him. And if the disease was for the punishment of Sin, in order to remove the effect, the cause was done away: and if he hath committed Sins, they shall be forgiven him. This anointing and Prayer continued, with effect, as long as the Gift of Healing continued, and there are some evidences of its practice through the first fix Ages: thus far it was not Extreme Unclien, but an anointing applied to those who, they were perfuaded, were not then dying, but should certainly live by a recovery from their fickness-After the miraculous Gift ceased, the Rite continued, in charity, in hopes of the fick man's recovery; but having no miraculous knowledge or power, it grew to be generally applied, and therefore was very often without success; but then they never intended it should be an Extreme Unction, and the health of the fick was still the object. At length, so late as the XIIth Century, the Church of Rame changed the purpose of it, using it as a mean to withstand the last essault of their spiritual enemies; for which they have no authority from Scripture or Primitive practice. And of the truth of this, the best Writers in their own Church are fenfible: Cardinal Gejetan speaks thus of the passage in St. James; 'It e neither appears by the words, nor by the effect. that he speaks of the Sacrament of Extreme Until an, but rather of that Unction which our Lord 4 appointed in the Gospel, to be used upon sick perfons by his Disciples. For the Text does not say. Is any man sick unto death? but absolutely, Is any man fick? and it makes the effect to be the Reecovery of the fick, and speaks but conditionally

of the Forgiveness of Sins: Whereas, Extreme

"Unction is not given, but when a man is almost at

the point of death, and as the form of words

then used sufficiently shews, it tends directly to the

Forgiveness of Sins. 2'

The Biographer's long harangue, in recapitulating the character of the Cardinal, would be too tedious to examine; it is fufficiently answered by the foregoing strictures on those misrepresented facts and authorities on which he builds his praise: an instance or two may be necessary.

He had an utter aversion to stattery and falshood . Letters to the Pope, the Emperour, the French King, and his last to the Lady Elisabeth, disprove his averfion to flattery: his glosses to deceive, and then, efpecially when he calls God to witness, are notorious proofs of his falfhood: indeed his cowardice was too great to permit him to act with truth and fimplicity. No one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he spoke his sentiment in the Confiftery! his timidity made him afraid defignedly to offend any one; or, if he happened to do it, he had wit enough to explain away his meaning, and reconcile himself to men of different fentiments; both Papists and Protestants thought him their own. The fame disposition made him wary and circumspect in his ordinary conversation, even with his intimate friends ; fear and design kept him always upon his guard, and he never talked, but from behind a mask. This wariness and circumspection in his ordinary converfation, even with his intimate friends, is not very confiftent

See Clagget on the pretended Sacrament of Extreme In Popish Tracts, vol. ii. Tr. vii. p. 60. Unction. k Ibid. I Ibid. P. 220.

confistent with what follows, and which indeed his whole life contradicts; that his temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy. and the corruption of the great World: He was too well acquainted with the latter to be a thoroughly. honest man; yet stopped too short to be an able po-He had ambition enough through intrigues, treason, and rebellion, to aim at the crown; but his heart was too faint to venture into England and head the malecontents: his talents were only calculated to hold the lighted match, and fet fire to the train at a distance: yet his proftrations and protestations of love and affection to his King at the same time gave a ridiculous inconsistency to his conduct, and made him on that occasion, and in every. other negotiation, to fail of success. He had not a greatness of mind sufficient to sustain any character. The Protestants experienced that he was a bloody persecutor in England; and the Conclave suspected his Catholicism at Viterbo: he was for ever disappointed, and he disgusted every body. He required an assurance from the Pope that he should not be recalled to Rome, but be permitted, for the ease of his conscience, to attend his pastoral care at Canterbury; this was a pretence only to secure himself from the Inquisition of the Conclave; and after he had obtained this grant, he carried on the farce to far as to intreat the Queen to confent to his residing on his Bishoprick; knowing full well, that this. could not be complied with, his attendance near the Metropolis being as necessary for the general care of the Church, as his attendance at the Court would be necessary for the Civil Administration. therefore easily persuaded to make over the particular

Care of his Diocele to Commissioners. To prove that he was void of ambition, Mr. Phillips informs us, that the Earldon of Warwick was devolved to bind by inheritance; yet all the instances of his family to make out bis titles could never prevale on him to do fo!. That title fuck in the attainder of his Uncle; his Mother was created Countels of Salifbury, which title her attainder also forseited: the Cardinal's elder Brother. as this Biographer tells us, left a Son; the Lord Montague"; in this piece of history indeed he is mistaken, for that Lord Montague was Sir Anthony Browne: but vet the Cardinal had fill two elder Brothers living: how then came he intitled to the Earldom of Warwick by inheritance? He was invested with the most ample Legatine powers, which, bad he made the same use of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But every department of it was ferved without fees". But the story Mr. Strietland tells o, proves that his Office was a scene of the most shameless rapacity. The love of his Country crowned all his virtues. If we consider what he did and suffered on this. Principle, we shall confess no one had ever a better claim to the title of a Patriot than Cardinal Pole . If raising Civil Wars and commotions, reducing his Country under a foreign yoke, destroying the natural right of private judgment, erecting a Court of inquifition, throwing her Inhabitants into the fire, for not thinking with him, be Mr. Phillips's idea of a Patriot, he has reason to call the Cardinal one; and may, as far as wishes and some faint endeavours go, himself come in for a porportionable claim: but I 2179

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> P. 228. m P. 78. n P. 228. • Crashaw's Mittimus, p. 30. P P. 230.

am perfuaded his Country, while the preferres her enses, will form a very different judgment both of the Cardinal, and of his Biographer. many congrutulations, which came to hist from all parts, on his being honored with the purple, because none came from England, he refused to enjoy the gale, of which his Equally praise-worthy was Country did not partake . the spirit of Haman, who amidst the honors and congratulations he received on every side, on seeing Mordecai refuse his cap and knee, cried out, All this avaleth me nothing . In fine, on Mary's accession, he overlooked all the fineets of a fludious and contemplative life, which he had chofen at Maruza, and embarked, as he says, with a full knowledge of the difficulties be was to encounter, on the stormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided administration. He retired to Maruza in difgust, and as Chryses, to indulge the turbulent emotions of his grief, chaling a fcene corresponding to his troubled mind.

Bit & death rased the reduction burdoom. Head I,

Walk'd pensive by the murmuring ocean's shore;

So the Cardinal indulging his melancholly, feated himself at Maruza, which Mr. Phillips describes, from Virgil, as abounding with lakes and storms; E suppose to indicate the suitableness of the situation to the present temper of the inhabitant.

Adde lacus tantos; te Lari maxime, teque Pluctibus er fremitu allurgens, Benace, marino.

Georg. II.

A a

Which

5 P. 231. F Hefter v. 13. P. 231.

Which may be thus accommodated,

His copious tears where weeping Larins pours, : And Iwoln Benatus with the tempest reason with the

But, as foon as he heard of Mary's accession, his humor changed, he left his lakes and storms for the folendors of a crown which he hoped to share with the new Queen. The difficulties he encountered were from the Emperour, which by his behaviour he appears not to have forefeen; and though dilappointed in his main view, he hoped at least for honors in his native country: from whose administration, as new and divided, if he apprehended any difficulties, they were ideal only and the creatures of his own fears; for he met with none, but took the uncontrouled lead both in the Ecclesiastical and Civil departments. He had ever shewn remarkable mildness to those who dissented from the doctrine of the church of Rome; -and in the government of Viterbo, and the Diorefe of Canterbury, his behaviour was fuch as to give his enemies a pretext to misrepresent bis lenity towards those who erred, as an indication of his favoring error. By error here the Gentleman means the reformed doctrines; and, if the Cardinal did not favor them at Viterbo, the Protestants mistook his lenity; but, as to his behaviour at Canterbury, the mistake is Mr. Phillips's, in representing it as having any lenity in it; for, in his half County of Kent, more were put to death in one year, than in any other whole County in England: the Metropolis itself, with all Middlesex, under

t P. 232, 233.

under the rage and fury of Boner, did not furnish to many executions.

It may feem unfair in me to suppress, that Dr. Heylin expresses a difficulty in believing, that the Cardinal could entertain any thought of the Crown a although he allows the fact is attested by fuch unexceptionable authority that he will not dispute it. His authority is a passage in Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain, Book ix. ch. 21. §. 103. in these words; 'The Monasteries thus dissolved. and the Revenues thereof converted to temporal ules, King Henry ran in great obloquie of many foreign potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with Cardinal Poole infligated divers Princes to invade England, thus fallen from his ! Faith: yea, and home-born Subjects difliking the course for papistical subversion; by secret working fought to deprive King Henry, and to raise up Rey-\* nold Poole unto the Regal Dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The persons convicted were Lord Henry Courtney, Marquis of Excesser and Earl of Devonshire, the Son of Lady Katharine. the seventh Daughter of King Edward the fourth: · Henrie Poole Lord Montacute, with Sir Geffrey, his Brother, and Sir Edward Nevill, Brother to the Lord of Abergavenny. These Pools were the Sonnes of Lady Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the only Daughter of George Duke of Clarence; and of 4 thefe, Reinold Poole once Dean of Excester, and s now Cardinal at Rome, was accounted the only 4 man.' On this Dr. Heylin observes, ' which (defign of advancing Reginald Pole to the Regal \* Throne) how it could confift with the pretentions · of

of the Marquisse of Exeter, on the ambition of the Lord Montacute, the elder Brother of this Regiand, it is hard to fay. But, having the Chronicle of John Speed to justifie me in the Truth hereof, in this particular, I shall not take upon me to dispute the point.' Heylin's Hist. of the Reform. p. 10. Dr. Heylin planely mistook the design: neither the Marquis nor Lord Montague made any pretensions to the Crown as nearer Heirs to it than Henry VIII. but having been taught (by the Cardinal) that Henry had forfeited his Crown, and being offended at the King (by means of the same Incendiary) for illegitimating the Lady Mary, they plotted to fet Henry aside, and place Mary in his throne; and, to strengthen her hands in maintenance of it, to give her Reginald for a Husband, who, says Speed, of the Pole's, was accounted the only man. Not as better intitled to the Crown than his elder Brothers. but as fittest for her Husband, being the youngest of them, the only one unmarried, and best able from his connection with the Pope to secure her against her Father's resentment.

The design of depriving the King of his Crown, and conveying it to Reginda Pole, is reported by the Chronicles, Histories, Letters, and Writers of that Age, Papists as well as Protestants; on the information of the Cardinal's own Brother Sir Geofin Pole, and by the execution of other his near Relations for treason fully and duly proved. The Cardinal's great Friend Dr. Tonstal, a Popish Bishop, having consured.

See Lord Herber's Life of Herry VIII, p. 439, and the Continuer of Fabian's Chronicle at the 30th year of the King's reign, p. 489.

extillured him for his open and notorious Treafon, his pelitilent and divelish purpose, to delitoy the \* Country he was born in, which any heathen man would abhor to do,' in going about from Prince to Prince, and from Country to Country, to thir them to war against this realm; tells us also of " pernicious Treasons late secretly wrought against this realm, which were marvellously detected by the work of Almighty God, being disclosed by his own Brother; and that condign punishment had en-" fued \*. Many other perversions of History I have purposely omitted, knowing they will be fully opened by the Learned Dr. Neve in his Animadverfions now in the press; and others I have the less attended to, assured his careful pen will detect them: my folicitude having been chiefly to discover the unscriptural and seditious Design of Mr. Phillips in his late Performance, and occasionally to point out his misrepresentations of Facts to promote that Defign.

Having now finished my Review of The Life of Reginald Pole, and shewn that the Author of it has greatly misrepresented facts and authorities, to recommend his Hero to our esteem and imitation; in order to inspire his Readers with a love of those corruptions in Religion which he embraced, and with a desire to restore them in this kingdom, by those means, with-

<sup>\*</sup> Bp. Tonstal's Sermon, on Palm-Sunday in 1538, mentioned by Stryfe in his Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. 1. p. 338.

out which they cannot be supported, a reconciliation with the Pope and the re-establishment of his Supremacy: means, which if persuasion has not force enough to recommend, ought (in his opinion) to be introduced even by sedition and rebellion, from the encouraging examples of that great Patriot, St. Themas of Canterbury, and those Martyrs also who were hanged for treason under Queen Elizabeth;—Permit me, Mr. Phillips, to leave your Book, and apply myself to you, in testimony of my Christian Charity and Good Will to your Person, however justly I may resent your attempt as a Polemical Historian. There are connections betwixt us, which give me a title to address you, as my Countryman, my Fellow-Subject, and a Christian Brother.

As my Countryman, pray for the peace of our Ferusalem: for your brethren and companions sakes wish her prosperity; nor endeayour to prevent her, by fuch publications as thefe, or any other feditious attempts, from being a City at unity with itself. You must be sensible, that though we have borne with those of your Communion, whilst they appeared too few to do us any mischief, yet you cannot in-The methods therefore crease without danger to us. which you, and others of you, are taking to add to your numbers, must diminish the likelihood of your living in tranquility amongst us: we know we cannot be fafe, if yours become the prevaling profession; and therefore we must, when we see it attempted, and you may be affured we shall, execute such of our Laws against you as are necessary for our own prefervation, or enact fuch as may be more properly executed. You have made a very bad use of our long

long suspension of the old ones, and should be cautious of provoking us to new provisions; for if you imagine that we shall continue supine, till you are a match for us, you may find yourselves greatly mistaken; and if ever a Contest happens on this point, it

will be a dreadful one.

Çan you then wish to see your Country plunged in the horrors of Civil War? can you attempt to excite a new Pilgrimage of Grace, zealously contending to savish from us that Liberty, which, in indulgence to your hereditary prejudices, reaches out its Cival protection to you? You express a sense of your happiness in living under the equity and moderation. of these times; perhaps multitudes of your friends are flying from the resentment of their respective states to balk in the sun-shine of English liberty; live and enjoy it: but use not this liberty as a cloke of maheieusness, nor grudge it to your Countrymen, while they extend it to you. How would Roman Catholick powers treat their Protestant Subjects, were they first to give them such a protection as you enjoy here. and then receive such a return for it, as you and those of your Communion make here? How would they treat the Author of a book written in fuch a manner against their established Church and Laws. as yours is against ours? How would you think he ought to be treated? Be so good as to consider these Questions, and what plane answer can be returned to them.

Consider further, in what confusion and disturbance of property you are laboring to embroil your Country: You tell us the Abbey and Church A 2 4 Lands

Lands, by the mediation of Pole, have been fecuntal to the Pollesions and confirmed by the Pope: but we know the precarious tenure when your Pope shall be able to give effect to the Decrees of his Predecessors; the security granted was intended to be but temporary, Pole himself persuading the Possessors to give hack they apple, and threatning if they did not, that it should be taken from them, and the losers whipped into the.

bargain if they pretended to cry:

But above all confider, have you a heart capable of undertaking to bring the brand to kindle theft, dreadful fires again through the Kingdom, which disgraced the administration of your Patriot Here; and to facrifice in them your fellow citizens, friends, and benefactors. Should Popery once more prevale in England, the Protestant cause would be funk to low, that a return of all the old barbarities might justly be feared. Can you then desire the Revival of them? Are you really so much of the same spirit with your Predecessors in Queen Mary's days? how much esteem do you hope to conciliate from wishes of this complection? what thanks do you conceive your Country is indebted to you for labors to so bloody a purpose?

As my Fellow Subject, dare you openly avow an allegiance to a foreign Potentate, and endeavour to persuade Englishmen to submit to any earthly Prince as above their natural King & Does the Duty of submitting to the King as Supreme allow you to withdraw your own allegiance, and to employ your abilities to withdraw that of others from him, and

pletd it to an alten Usurper? do you regard the exautiple of Pole more than the Precept of St. Piter himfelt?

Is your Loyalty no better instructed than to wiff, to appropriate a third part of the revenues of his Kingdom in the support of a Monastick standing along, consisting of some hundred thousand persons, basided together to defend the REGALIA STI. PETRI, in opposition to their King; and to yield, as to Feter, the peace stainped with the single and superscription of Caesar?

Must the Kings of England again do homage to the Pope for their Crowns; and hold them as Vassals but at his pleasure? Shall they be denied the commerce and affistance of their Subjects at a nod of a Supreme: Tyrant, and be deprived of their Kingdoms by virtue of a right which you contend for in his Holiness, whenever his supposed universal superintendence shall persuade him that it is proper to make use of state means and when sancied provocations shall suggest to his Subjects that this method of redress is lawful a

Lastly, As a Christian Brother, permit me to remind you of that exhortation of the Author of the Rebrews, obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves. The visible Church of Christ in this Kingdom has its known spiritual Governours by regular Succession, whom you ought to remember, and whose faith sellow: their saith is primitive, for next

<sup>\*</sup> Vol. 1, p. 218. \* Ibid, p. 178. \* Ibid, p. 168. 5 Cor. xiii.17.

east to the Scriptures the antient Creeds are their Symbol and Test. It is a faith 1 500 years older than the distinguishing Creed of Pius IV. which, while it professes to approve them as the only foundation \*. would inconfiftently impose novel doctrines, deexceed to be articles of faith but 200 years ago; and all unknown to the Church of Christ for 600 years. most of them for a thousand. Our faith therefore is certainly right by your own acknowledgment; and your obedience is confequently due to those spiritual Governours, regularly fent and appointed over vou: they watch for your fouls as they that must give account. yet knowing the bounds of their commission, they defire not to be Lords over your faith, but permit you to judge what they fay. It is your concern to discharge your heart of prejudices, that you do not obstinately profess errors at the expense of Schism; for if the account they give of you be, through your fault, with grief, the event will be unprofitable to you. Learn from your favorite Cardinal, that the imporiousness of the Court of Rome, and the simony of its Apostolical Chamber, are fuch flagrant abuses as to Rand in need of Reformation; which was also the opinion of many members of your own Churchwho complained of them in every age for fix Centuries before they were confirmed at Frent: but do not . labor,

Symbolum Fidei quo sancta Ecclesia Romana utitur tanquam principium in quo omnes qui sidem Christi protetentur necessario conveniunt, ut fundamentum firmum et sinicum, contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt, totidem verbls quibus in emnibus Ecclesis legitur, exprimendum esse censuit. Concil. Trident. Sess. iil. de Symbolo Niceno.

labor, as the Cardinal inconfiftently did, to re-offer blish those corruptions again in that part of Christ's Church which has discharged itself of them. Learn from him to reconcile St. Paul with St. James, and fee the necessity of joining Faith and Works: but Endeavour not with him, to burn those who wish to preserve them as inseparable as the fruit and the tree. knowing, that the fruit cannot be produced without the tree, nor can the tree be good that produces no fruit. And by forfaking acknowledged corruptions, and paying a due obedience to your Provincial Governours, endeavour to keep the unity of the faith, in the bond of peace.

But, if neither the natural regard which all men have for their Country, the allegiance due to your Prince by the laws of God and of your Country, nor the obedience required to your spiritual Governours by the Apostolical rules and ancient Canons, have any influence upon you, what is there particular in the present Crisis to provoke or tempt this so extraordinary an effort of Popish Zeal? provocation there can be none on the part of your Governours; you yourfelf acknowledge the equity and moderation of the times. One would suspect there was something remarkably favorable to your cause at this juncture, which makes such a preparatory incitement expedient. This may be from the late great Increase of your Church in this Kingdom: For doubtless it has in\_ creased, though I am persuaded less than its Partifans boaft, and some good persons fear, and some illmeaning ones pretend; which Increase may be owing partly to an indolent inattention, but certainly nothing worse, in some of us of the Clergy, and yeţ

yet not in many of them: but in a much greater degree to the covert methods, in which artful emiliaries procede; engaging fample and ighorant perions. beyond retreat, by false affertions and suphistical atguments, by promifes and bribes, before their Minifters have any knowledge of the attempt. In the Targe Pariffies of London and Weltminher fuch Knowfedge is peculiarly difficult to proceed. 'And further in those great Cities, it may be apprended, that much of the evil is owing to the impredence of Tome of the upper fort, in committing the care of themselves and their households to foreign fervants of that Church, who will not lay out their Wasters money but with perions of their own periwalion: and take all other opportunities, of which they have many, for bringing over Converts to it. Hence the great number of Converts which were boasted of in the fate rebellion; but a much greater progress in this work may be justly apprehended by the reinforcement of Laborers in it formiffied, or likely to be furnished, by a Society to dangerous to Civil Government, that the Princes of Europe, in their own Communion, are bunishing them from their feveral fares; and we, it is imagined, not to pridently connected and attentive to our own litterests as they are, fliaff give them thefter in ours. "Yet, at the faile time that they are dangerous to Choil Power, they are ffrenuous afferters of the Fapal; particularly encouraged and protected by the Pope, and prime favorites with you, Sir. Therefore a brief view of this most compact Phalanx, and of their difficipline, may be peculiarly feafonable at this time.

This

This Society was founded by a Soldier, and the General of the Order is invested with the most abfolute Imperatorial authority. The Members are dispersed abroad throughout the World in thirty-seven Provinces, of which France contained five. They live in Houses or Colleges, each under the Gas vernment of a Superior of Restor; out of which one is chosen by the General \* to profide over the Proxince. thence stiled the Provincial; who is not only chosen by the General, for a certain term, usually of three years, but he grants, restrains, or enlarges his powers at pleasure. The General likewise appoints, or permits the Provincial to appoint the heal Superiors and Reffors of Colleges; but, in the latter case, the General is to approve and confirm, or reject; and in all cases to reform and remove at will the several Superiors. Thus the whole Government rests in the General, on whom the Subalterns depend absolutely to And that the General may know, direct, and omploy every Individual, as he shall judge most conducive to the good of the Society, the Superiors and Rectors are to examine firitly all under their respective charges, as well the Profosfed as Candidates. once or twice a year; in which scrutinies, the persons examined are to lay open the whole state of their fouls, and a perfect account of their

† Ut bene gubernetur Societas, expediri valde videtur, ut præpolitus generalis omnom habeat autorisatras in Societatem. Constit. parto, cap. 2. §. 1.

A generali Proposito, ut a capite, universa facultas Provincialium egreditur, ac per eos ad locales; per hos autem ad singulares personas descendat. Instit. Soc. Jes. vol. 1. constit. part 8. cap. 1. §. 6.

pair life; that the feveral Superiors\* may transmit to their Provincial the names and characters of every one in their House or College, his particular qualities and abilities, what are his defects, to what vices most inclined, and the very secret movements and propensities of his mind. This particular description the Superiors are to send weekly to the Provincial; from which the several Provincials every month are to send an account to the General of the state of their respective Provinces, that he may have an exact knowledge of every concern, and every perfon in Europe belonging to this Society, in order to provide for the general welfare of it, and employ the fittest

† Quicunque hanc societatem în Domino sequi volet... debeat conscientiam suam magnâ eum humilitate, puritate et caritate manifestare, re nullâ...celatâ, et totius anteactæ vitæ rationem integram,...reddat. Bxam. Ge-

ner. cap. 4. §. 36.

Superiores domorum et Rectores scribant singulis hebdomadis ad suum Provincialem...de statu personarum et rerum omnium... et quod sieri poterit, curent et omnia tanquam presentia Provincialis cernat...Provinciales omnium Provinciarum Europæ scribant ad Generalem semel quolibet mense...curabunt ut status totian Provinciæ benè explicent...et in universum ità scribene debent, ut Generalis omnium rerum, omniumque personarum statum quoad ejus sieri possit, ante oculos habeat. Regul. Societ. Art. de formula scribendi. §. 2, 3, 7, 11.

Catalogum unum omnium domorum...et alterum perfonarum omnium...ubi eorum nomina et qualitates scri-

bantur. Constit. part 9. cap. 6. §. 3.

Breviter perstringendo dotes unius cujusque...propensionum ac motionum animi, et ad quos desectus vel peccata suerint vel sint magis propensi et incitati. fittest instruments +. And that he may be as secure of their obedience as of their abilities and qualifications for the work designed, every Member is required by the Founder himself to obey with the most ready and blind obedience whatever his Superior shall command, may, if he only intimates, and does not express his pleasure; persuaded that all he commands is just, however appearances or private judgment may contradict; looking on his directions as the will and command of God, and obeying as implicitly as Abraham when directed to stay his Son, or as blindly as the weapon in the hand of the smiter ‡.

† Cognoscat quoad ejus fieri poterit, conscientiam eorum qui sub ejus obedientia sunt, ac præcipue Præpositorum Provincialium et aliorum quibus munera majoris momenti committit. Constit, part 9. cap. 3. §. 19.

Ita enim melius intelligentur, quæ ad personas attinet, meliusque totum Societatis corpus ad Dei gloriam regi

poterit. Reg. Societ.

† Ut statuatis vobiscum ipsi quicquid superior præcepit, ipsius Dei præceptum esse et voluntatem, atque ut et credendo quæ Catholica sides proponit, toto animo assensuque vestro statim incumbitis, sic ad ea sacienda quæcunque superior dixerit, cæco quodam impetu voluntatis, pariendi cupidi, sine ulla prorsus disquisitione seramini. Sic egisse credendus est Abraham silium suum jussus. Epist. præposit. Gen. p. 24.

Non folum in rebus obligatoriis, sed etiam in aliis, licet nihil aliud quam signum voluntatis superioris, sine ullo expresso videretur, ita ut...ad ejus vocem perinde ae si à Christo Domino egrederetur...quam promptissimi si-

mus. Constit. part 6. cap. 2. §. 1.

Omnia justa esse nobis persuadendo, omnem sententiam et judicium nostrum contrarium, cæcâ quâdam obedientia, abnegando. Ibid.

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And the General refiding at Rome, under the protect. tion and influence of the Pope, the abilities and fervices of the whole Society are ultimately referred to him, and directed by him. For the same reason that the General limits the government of the Provincials to three years, lest a continuance of power should enable him to become independent, Paul IV. and Pins V. and Sentus Quintus, determined to limit the government of the General to a like period; the Society promifed obedience, but constantly found means to clude the performance of it: Gregory XIV. perceiving that the increase of their influence was beneficial to the Papacy, while, by the vow of obedience given by the General, and by his refidence at Rome, his Holiness could easily find means of avaling himself of it, he granted by his Bull in 1501, that the government of the General should be monarchical and perpetual . The ill effects on Civil Society from this despotick government of the General; and

Et fibi quisque persuadeat quod qui sub obedientia vivant, se serri ac regi divina providentia per superiores suos finere debent, proinde ac si cadaver essent, quod quoque versus, ferri et quacunque ratione tractari se sinit, vel similiter atque senis baculus, qui ubicunque, et quacunque in re velit, eo uti qui eum manu tenet; et inservit. Ibid.

II. Ipsiusque membra per universum orbem dispersa, per omnimodam hanc subordinationem suo capiti colligata, promptius atque facilius à summo Pontisce Christi in terris vicario, ad varias functiones, juxta eorum per culiarem vocationem et speciale yotum, dirigi atqué moveri possint. Literæ Apostolicæ, p. 103.

See Memoire à consulter et consultation pour Jean Lioncy contre le Corps et Societé des P. P. Jesuites, p. 66, 120.

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and blind and stupid obedience of every Member to his Superior, has been represented to the Christian States by the King of Portugal in 1759: the exile of the Order which followed, from thence and from France, and which is believed to have crouded our hospitable Shores with no very desirable emigrants, is not so great a hardship to men under this discipline, as our compassion at first is apt to imagine; for not having been permitted to enjoy any private personal property in their native Countries, by the rules of their Order, they are equally interested in the property of the whole, in every Province where their Brethren and Fellows are found: This Popish Society, which Popish States are afraid of, and are driving out of all their borders, you, Mr. Phillips, are recommending to a Protestant one: with what view you yourself best know. But it is an injury to your Country, of which your favorite Cardinal disdained to be guilty: when the Jesuites follicited to be established in the new raised Monasteries here, to the exclusion of the old possessors, the Bemedictines, as an Order useless in comparison of theirs, and not doubting but that they, by their dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, should soon recover the greatest part of the Goods of the Church z, yet Pole, though zealous for the Papal Supremacy, though earnest for the restoration of the Abbey Lands, recoiled from the mischievous encouragement of that Society in England. There is no need to enter into dispute with you concerning this your favorite Order; for their ВЬ merit

\* Barnet, vol. ii. p. 3276

merits are at present much too well known, amount Papille as well as Protestants, to leave you any profpedt of re-establishing their character. But whyordo you call Bishop Burnet's account of the Jesuiss application to Pole for introducing and fetling this Oider here, au huffling Article? He tells you from what. MS. he gathered his information a you confirm that Ignatius Legila wrote to him, and offered to educate the English Youth abroad as Seminaries, to which you admit the Legate, perhaps, had not leifure then to attend: where is the improbability of their defiring some of the old Monastick Foundations in this Kingdom for such establishments, and that the Jesuits should be out of measure offended at the Legate, for not entertaining their proposition? The Bishop quotes his authority for what he says. is that shuffling? or do you think it impossible that the Jesuits should be so unjust, as to desire what had been left to other Orders should be converted to theirs? It is to me no wonder they should make such a request. because they did make a like one, afterwards, to the Emperour: Ferdinand II. affuring him, that inflead of restoring to the several Religious Orders what the Protestants had taken from them, he was bound in conscience to employ it in founding and endowing a number of Colleges of their Society. That Pale wrote a very complaifant Letter to Ignatius is no evidence at all on the other fide; for the more firmly he was determined to have nothing to do with his new Order, the civiller words he would use of course. Not Bishop Burnet therefore, but Mr. Rhillips

a See Memoire à consulter contre les Jesuites, p. 166.

The has shuffled on this occasion; who might very well have arknowledged the fact, and turned it to the praise of his Henn. But he had less regard for truth, and even for Pole, than for these dear Rriends. It was reason anough for Mr. Phillips to introduce their Founder Innatius, that Pole once wrote a Letter to him; but what connection had Francis Xamierowith Poles who intrudes upon us, uncalled, in both parts of this Work! none at all: but he has a sufficient connection with Mr. Phillips's motive to write this Book. Xavier was a Papist, and one of his favorite Order, a Jesuit; whose Life. we are told, has been the object of admiration, not to the Catholick Church only, but to those who are estranged from her Tenets. Particularly the Authors he hath eited have vied with each other in celebrating the uncommon Gifts he received to execute the office of Ambaffadour of Jefus Chrift. These uncommon Gifts, I presume. mean the miracles or wonders of an Apostle, which he elsewhere says were performed by him. His Authors are Baldeus's History of the Indies. Hacklust's Difeoveries of the English, part 2, vol. 11, and Tavernier .

Buldeus, in his description of the coasts of Malabar and Geromandel, ch. 13. says, at Goa; in the Jesuit's Chapel lies intrenched the Body of Francis Xaverius, of which the Portuguese relate strange Miracles;—for myself, says Baldeus, I am very willing to own, that my pen is not capable of expressing the worth of so great a Man; though at the same time I am of opinion, that if Xaverius were alive B b 2

• P. 177, and Note.

aww, he would diffoun many things, especially as to his Miracles, fince published by his Pollowers . In this manner Buldeus vies with others in celebrating Mivier's uncommon gifts. In Hacklust I only find it atferted by an anonymous Portuguese Writer, that Francis 'Xavier, a most devout man of the aforeshid 80ciety, left an example to the rest of his Associates, bow they should do their best to plant the Religion of Offish, page 08. Tavernier, as Bayle tells us, did not write his own Travels: M. de la Chapelle, who wrote the third volume for him, and made him, though a Protestant, speak the language of Rome, yet has not given the least hint of his working Miracles, in the only place where he is mentioned 4. M. L'Advicat, above-mentioned, ascribes no Miracles to Xavier; nor does Hofman in his Lexicon Universale; he only says, that his Followers in their Letters aferibe to themselves many Miracles, of which, However, sensible men of their own Communion doubt; and observes, that Xavier himself acknowledges, that, he had not the Gift of Tongues, but was forced to learn Japanese in the ordinary way.

But whatever your reasons may be, for thus extolling the Jesuits, or what thanks soever your Popilk Superiore may give you for this wanton disturbance of your Country, which permits you and your associates to live in peace amongst them, we acknowledge the goodness of the Divine permission, in thus suffering you to awaken us from a forgetfulness

c Churchill's Collect. of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 549, edit.

of those corruptions and that tyranny from which he has thrice delivered us. Security is often fatal, and your performance is like the alarm of the rattle fnake, which puts the passenger on his guard. We might forget the Controversy were we not, by these efforts, called upon to review it. God permits these Ekinnishes to exercise us, lest we contract an indolence that might destroy us. As the idolatrous Nations' were not to be entirely confumed by the Ifraelites, left the beafts of the field should increase upon them . When like attacks repeted call for a like defence, it would be more nice than wife to neglect using the old weapons, only because they have been already fuccessful. If those, which your unprovoked attack upon our Constitution in Church and State has obliged me to draw forth in defence of both, convince you, that the Bishop of Rome has no jurisdiction in this realm from Scripture: that we, holding the form of found words commanded by Christ, and delivered by the Apostles. under Apostolical Discipline, are Members of the true Church, however others may cut themselves off from our communion; and that the additional Articles in the Creed of Pope Pius are novelties, unknown to the first Ages of Christianity, and which the Council of Trent had no authority to impose on a Church unwilling to receive them; you will then see your obligation to submit yourself to the King as Supreme, and to obey the spiritual. Governours of your national Church, who have the rule over you. One of us must be guilty of Schism: And though

Deut. vii. 22.

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though the infirmities of fallible men should make us mutually bear with one another, yet it behoves each of us, for his own sake, to avoid the punishment of Schism, by a careful avoiding the guilt of it. This I have conscientiously endeavoured to do on my part, knowing how much it concerns me: I hope you will take as much honest pains on yours. And if we still continue to think differently, be you careful not to behave seditiously, and god pardon the involuntary erfors of either!



FINIS.

